

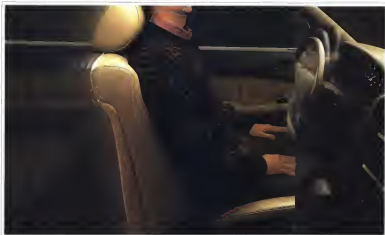
**PETER C.
NEWMAN ON
CANADA—1892**

Maclean's

THE CRY OF A DYING PEOPLE

In Baidoba, Somalia, Fatuma Hussein Mohamed was unable to join the line for food. In a dry, dusty, terrible place, her soft moans finally ceased. She died alone, the last of her family. She was 12.





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Described as "a technological tour de force," the Lexus LS 400 luxury performance sedan fully bristles with a myriad of features designed to enhance your comfort, confidence

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The Relentless Pursuit Of Perfection.



Ultimately, there's Black.

Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE SEPTEMBER 7 1992 VOL 165 NO 36

CONTENTS

4 EDITORIAL

6 LETTERS

8 OPENING NOTES/PASSAGES

Peter Nygard fantasizes a Caribbean fantasy home; Margaret Atwood takes a holiday in hell; a thriller slashes its way into the top movie spot; we shine through the constellations of the dream; a federal purchase could be flawed; a northern mystery may be solved; teenagers profit from sale sex.

11 COLUMN/CHARLES GORDON

12 CANADA

Political leaders plan for a national referendum on constitutional reform; acrimonious coalition running for an elected upper chamber.

16 WORLD

James Baker steps in to run the campaign of his longtime friend President George Bush; Harrison Andrews leaves a trail of death and destruction.

20 COVER

30 BUSINESS

Businesses lobby to eliminate interprovincial trade barriers.

36 BUSINESS WATCH/PETER C. NEWMAN

37 PEOPLE

38 SPECIAL REPORT

44 CRIME

Another Montreal university becomes the setting for a gunman on a shooting rampage.

46 BROADCASTING

The CBC merges The National and The Journal.

47 JUSTICE

The Supreme Court strikes down the law prohibiting "the spreading of false news."

48 SPORTS

The world's best athletes with physical disabilities compete in Barcelona.

50 BOOKS

Ken Kesey presents his first new novel in 28 years.

52 FOTHERINGHAM

COVER

THE CRY OF A DYING PEOPLE

The African nation of Somalia is suffering from the twin terrors of famine and war. Up to a third of its population is facing starvation. And relief workers say that malnutrition is so severe that at least one in four Somali children under the age of five has already died and many more will die so, even though foreign aid is finally beginning to enter the country in significant amounts. — 30



BUSINESS

MEXICAN STANDOFF

Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, like his counterparts in Canada and the United States, is gambling that Mexicans will buy the benefits of free trade. Salinas told Maclean's that his country needs NAFTA to attract capital. The main beneficiaries of the deal will be Mexico's next generation. — 32



SPECIAL REPORT

PORTRAIT OF A PROMISED LAND

Author and Maclean's columnist Peter C. Newman has worked with photographer Peter Christopher to produce a book that dramatically evokes the national spirit of a century ago. Canada 1892 combines Newman's reconstruction of a bygone age with Christopher's modern images of historical sites. — 36





A Deepening Tragedy

Even by the brutal standards of the 20th century, war and drought have now made Somalia, on the Horn of Africa, the most, most vicious corner of the world. Its people have, to the extent possible, become accustomed to a rhythm of reversing drought—but not to the recent phenomenon of drought coupled with a devastating civil war. So immense is the suffering, so

unthinkable the fact that someone in a population of roughly seven million has every two minutes of starvation or disease related to starvation, that it is tempting for those in more fortunate countries to simply turn away. To their credit, many Canadians—and the federal government—have refused to do so. Canada has contributed \$17.8 million in food and medical aid, and \$50 million more is on the way to the drought-ravaged region. Canadian doctors and aid workers are performing heroic tasks against monumental odds. But the tragedy is deepening, and much of the world is, indeed, turning away.

Part of the reason for the tepid Western reaction is that for decades, the Horn of Africa was being used in the Cold War battle to control the strategic Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. Both sides in that struggle poured weapons into the area, and Somalia's former neighbour, East Africa, used them to maintain its grip on power and endorse a warlike attitude of unity on the tribal groups that form the country. With the end of superpower involvement, and war spread widely and flames fed into civil war, as the drought took hold. Now, with its strategic value severely diminished, Somalia and its awesome suffering can be safely ignored by the very countries that once armed and courted its rulers.

As Foreign Editor Bruce Wallace reports from inside the country, "Since the start of the Cold War, Somalia has been turned into a stage where the depths of the world's inhumanity are on display." No matter how much aid now reaches the starving country, hundreds of thousands of people will still die. It is late for a real beginning of a mission. Western rescue, but it is far too soon to give up.



Wallace Somalia has become a stage where the depths of the world's inhumanity are on display

Kevin W. Doyle

Maclean's

CANADA'S MOST INFLUENTIAL MAGAZINE

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LETTERS

Homesick and angry

This issue was, in my opinion, appropriately titled "special issue" ("British Columbia," Cover, Aug. 20). My reaction to the articles and photographs was overwhelmingly emotional. At first, I felt a jealous homesickness for Vancouver Island, where I had spent as a 16-year-old three years. Secondly, I felt anger over the threat of the pulp and paper industry on a devastating stop. Third, I felt fear that the conflicting interests of wealthy natives, newly arrived entrepreneurs from the Orient and elsewhere, native peoples' land claims and industry, however well-intentioned and legitimate they may appear to be, may result in irreparable damage to the environment. I believe the only hope is environmentally acceptable compromises from all concerned if our children ever expect to experience British Columbia other than glancing at a back issue of *Maclean's*.

Up Dehast,
Cherry Creek, Ont.

Having just received my *Interdependent* status on July 21, I am feeling ecstatic about the fact that I am now one of the lucky ones who get to live the rest of my life in British Columbia. Born in Australia, raised in Japan, I had been travelling for 18 months through Asia, Europe and Africa before I arrived in Vancouver in October, 1990, to visit friends. I fell in love with all the wonderful mountains rising out of the ocean waves and the feeling that I had never seen. To me, this is paradise.

Melissa Bates,
Whistler, B.C.

It appears that your writers were only looking at the good points and omitted a few downsides—the high cost of living and the pollution, especially in the Lower Mainland area. The average wage earner is moving further and further out in order to afford a reasonable home, and this brings into play the commutes. Thousands of people commute to work every day, causing tremendous amounts of air pollution. I don't think in the spring, summer and early fall, British Columbia is a wonderful place to live, but what about the late fall and winter? How many people can stand three or four months of continual rain? I don't think that British Columbia is beautiful, but I would rather live in Alberta. We too have our rivers, mountains, rivers and, best of all, we have sunshine during the winter. Think of it: future winters about the province, you would look at with the least of joy. The employment situation and the impact of political decisions.

Joseph Newman,
Calgary



Vancouver's False Creek: hope is for 'environmentally acceptable compromises'

Contesting the sport

I usually enjoy reading *Fotheringham's* columns. This week, however, I was greatly disappointed ("The Case for Olympic Cancellation," Column, Aug. 17). How can he be so blind and not see synchronized swimming as a sport? I do not believe that table dancing at the hotel and/or requires long days of tedious practice. Since when did a sport have to combine good muscle strength with the gracefulness of a ballerina? That I guess we can expect that from someone who believes that professional basketball players have a place at the Olympics to compete against amateurs.

Robert Hyman,
Mount Pearl, Nfld.

Synchronized spirit

Fotheringham is dismayed by the decline of the Olympic Games with such "unathletic" sports as synchronized swimming. Perhaps it is time that we return to the original spirit of the Olympics where a bunch of men performed—buck naked.

Ann James Kirkham,
Vancouver

Why is it that the two sports ridiculed by the media are rhythmic gymnastics and synchronized swimming? It is because they are the only all-women sports at the Olympics! *Fotheringham* obviously has no knowledge of synchronized swimming, yet, because he is a conformer, he feels he can truly mock our beloved sport. There are many reporters who do not include a

sport, so maybe how silly they think it is, and all of us athletes respect them. There there are those who insist on expressing their ignorance to get a few laughs, who we have very little respect for.

Katie Peters (13),
Edmonton

Caring Canadians

I found the treatment of environmental activists in the article "Nukes and high energy" (Column, Aug. 20) disturbing. A British Columbia logger is quoted as describing activists as people who "play as drummers, hang themselves from a bridge or climb a tree and wear themselves with excitement and excitement—day are always on TV." I understand his point of view, since he has made his living as a logger, but I know many New Brunswick activists and none of them hang from trees. They are responsible, caring human beings who request that their fellow Canadians be the same.

Jennifer Somers,
Fredericton

Great expectations

Writing in our faces things we will never be able to afford does not help us remedy something as basic as taxes with the standard of living we can expect ("The new techies too," Cover, Aug. 17).

Ray Shivers,
Jasper, Ont.

Letters may be published. Please supply name, address and daytime telephone number. Write letters to: Editor, *Maclean's*, Magazine, Windsor House Bldg., 555 King St. W., Toronto, Ont. M5X 1A7. Or by fax: (416) 593-7720.

LETTERS

The lessons of history

As a child of Holocaust survivors, I read with honor the reports of concentration camps in Bosnia-Herzegovina ("Bloodstains," World, Aug. 17). Here we learned nothing from Auschwitz. The United States, Canada and the United Nations seem like policemen who only intervene in upper-class neighborhoods. The world went to war to preserve Jewish sovereignty and life. Is preventing genocide a less noble cause for intervention? Otherwise, what can we tell our children when they ask why we watched in silence during the "ethnic cleansing" of Bosnia-Herzegovina? That we did not know?

Sandra Jacobowitz,
Toronto

A 'bogus excuse'

I agree with Alan *Fotheringham* about environmentalism ("The case for Olympic Cancellation," Column, Aug. 17). It is the most bogus excuse for a sport that I can think of, worse than athletes giving to their fans and kicking their legs around. As A. F. says, they belong in a strip joint.

Ann Williams,
Toronto

'Precious memories'

Seven years ago, I had the privilege of visiting to Raylene Rankin performs in Nova Scotia. They are precious memories. Now, whenever I hear music sung by the Rankin Family, tears fill my eyes as my soul is tugged back to Cape Breton. What a welcome joy from the corners of today's world. Thanks to the Rankin Family and Maclean's "Picking for glory," Column, Aug. 10 for the opportunity to remember about my Cape Breton friends and the beauty of the island.

Rob Fisher,
Calgary

A message for Foth

Just when things begin to change in terms of anti-environmentalism, someone like *Fotheringham* comes along and opens forth his ignorance and not-to-be-transparent bias ("A message for Elizabeth Taylor," Column, Aug. 10). He compared AIDS to cancer, heart disease, car accidents and suicides, claiming that AIDS is "rarely," the 11th-worst killer of Canadians, but he failed to notice that these other personal tragedies are not communicable and therefore not wholly preventable. AIDS, with the right education and health care, is preventable. Before he uses

terms like "average Canadian," he should ask himself who he is leading into a false sense of security—a security that one day may cost this "average Canadian" his or her life.

Steven Bariloff,
Hawthorn

Yesterday, I attended the funeral of a friend of over 30 years who died of AIDS. I can assure *Fotheringham* that his death was not "rarely." It was a long, agonizing, painful, demeaning death. Not that the other causes of death are any less important, but that is a completely different issue. One can read "they deserve it," be-

tween the lines of this column. I would not wish this disease, most common on airports, even on *Fotheringham*, as sorry as I am, but I do wish that he be treated with some degree of humanity and compassion.

John Bruce Newman,
Toronto

Finally, another of Dr. Pat's columns I can actually understand. It is not about time that we looked beyond the media screen instead upon as by the gay lobby and actually addressed the facts! Let us not ignore the fact that 90 per cent of all sexually transmitted AIDS

Vintage Talk #1

JUST HOW GOOD ARE THE WINE REGIONS OF ONTARIO?

In world terms, *comprehensive* European winemakers have named the western hemisphere and settled in the Wine Regions of Ontario. They did it because those regions have everything necessary to create superb wine.

Wineries certified from the Niagara movement and placed will have given the wine between Lake Ontario and the mountains a distinct air of old and much to be proud of.

Now, wherever I hear music sung by the Rankin Family, tears fill my eyes as my soul is tugged back to Cape Breton. What a welcome joy from the corners of today's world. Thanks to the Rankin Family and Maclean's "Picking for glory," Column, Aug. 10 for the opportunity to remember about my Cape Breton friends and the beauty of the island.

Rob Fisher, Calgary

with the enthusiasm and knowledge of our winemakers as when they create their masterpieces. Our winemakers are world-class, with ailing nature, a dignified and sophisticated and hard-working. They do not discuss mass—wineries are passionate about winemaking here and have the support of some from the world over.

We've established the Vintage Quality Award, a wine award that recognizes the best of the best in the world. And they are also the best of the best in the world. And they are also the best of the best in the world. And they are also the best of the best in the world.

The wine regions of Ontario are the best in the world. And they are also the best of the best in the world. And they are also the best of the best in the world. And they are also the best of the best in the world.

FROM THE WINE REGIONS OF ONTARIO. WE'RE READY WHEN YOU ARE.

OPENING NOTES

Constitutional wits, a Croatian vacation and digging into old mysteries

NO PLACE LIKE HOME

Capured away by the opulent dwellings in such French Bond movies as *Dr. No* and *Live and Let Die*, it will be celebrated as one of the largest and most spectacular houses in the world in the Sept. 17 episode of *Lifestyles of the Rich and Famous*. The owner is fashion mogul Peter Nygard, who runs Canada's largest women's apparel company. His 250,000-square-foot "house," now meaning compound, is a tropical dreamland on the island of L'Anse-au-Loup—complete with artificial mountains, caves, waterfalls, swimming pools and miniature electric cars to transport guests to each of the complex's dozens or so wings. Among the more imaginative features of Nygard's pad: a 60-foot-high simulated volcanic mountain with a lake in its crater, a glass-fronted garden walk that extends over the ocean and a multi-level pool with a glass divider that separates swimmers on one side from the sharks on the other. The French-born Nygard says that he has not kept track of the costs and does not "even really care," he added. "It's a matter of having the courage to let out your fantasies when you can afford to do it."



PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFFREY M. HARRIS

Holidays in hell

In the innermost words of U.S. Civil War Gen. William Sherman, "War is hell." But for a growing number of Hungarians in 1992, hell is now a great place for a cheap vacation. In the first six months of the year, tens of thousands of Hungarian tourists invaded the northern Adriatic coast of what used to be Yugoslavia.

While fighting rages in Bosnia, Herzegovina, some 400 km to the south-west, young Hungarians have been traveling to the Istrian peninsula of Croatia

to enjoy its unspoiled coastline and some of the finest eating spots of war-torn lands and lawless times. Twenty-thousand-old Krupa Vrhovca of Budapest, for one, spent eight days in August in the hotel town of Poreč for \$8 a night. \$8 bought a hearty dinner. Word of Istria's bargains is now spreading like word-of-mouth fire. "Hungary is not

bying for Croatian tourists," said a glum Peter Szabo, a spokesman for the Hungarian Tourist Board in Budapest. Meanwhile, Hungary's tourism industry is suffering this year—as part because quality travelers from Germany are reluctant to visit the region. But who said war is hell?

Break on Istrian peninsula: cheap

POP MOVIES

Top films in Canada, ranked according to box-office receipts during the seven days ending Aug. 27 (in brackets, number of screens/weeks showing.)

- 1 *Single White Female* (R) 22 569,700
- 2 *Deliverance* (R) 11 561,800
- 3 *Boyz n the City* (R) 10 522,500
- 4 *Death Becomes Her* (R) 14 504,200
- 5 *Christopher Columbus* (G) 11 502,400
- 6 *A League of Their Own* (R) 10 501,200
- 7 *Heidi* (G) 10 500,100
- 8 *Stay Tuned* (R) 10 529,800
- 9 *Twining Lake* (G) 10 524,400
- 10 *Wings in the Wind* (R) 10 518,000

Source: National Bureau of Motion Pictures

Take the Constitution... Please

For most Canadians, the continuing debate about national unity has all the excitement of watching paint dry that occasionally there are flashes of fire. Some examples from last week.

"One of our people told me that I'm being viewed as someone between the devil and the deep end of the pool."

—Bob Brown, one of the founders of the *Trudeau Social movement* after endorsing the proposed constitutional deal.

"They didn't get the three E's. But Joe never could count, that is one of the reasons why he's not prime minister."

—Robert Leveson, *Prime Minister* as *Constitutional Affairs Minister*—and former prime minister—Joe Clark, whose minority government fell in 1980 after being a non-confidant vote in the House of Commons.

"It's just a pity that they wanted the report after the fact."

—an unnamed *Quebec Liberal* on Joe Abbot, who wrote the party's constitutional platform and who last week again rejected the proposed unity package.

"You know what that would mean—45 more British Bantards. Believe it, you're enough."

—Perry Quilley, *constitutional writer* Jacques Desautels, on the first minister's agreement to give Quebec 10 more seats in the Commons.

Flight into darkness

A aviation pioneer Max Bial was among the first to fly in 1907 when he announced plans to buy 12 gleaming new Airbus A300 aircraft for his

Edmonton-based airline, Wander Ltd. But since then, the European-made jets seem to have brought their owners nothing but financial bad luck. In 1989, less than two months after completing the \$758-million purchase, Wander collapsed under a mountain of debt and was taken over by PWA Corp., which owns Canadian Airlines International Ltd. PWA



Wander: Aick and a takeover

could not afford to keep the A300s, and it agreed to sell them to engineering giant Laviolette Industries Inc. of Montreal, which then painted in lower sales of the planes to the Soviet state-owned airline Aeroflot, then the deal fell through in 1990 when the Soviet Union dissolved. Then, Laviolette declared bankruptcy, returning the jets to PWA.

Now, PWA is struggling to remain in business. Last week, the money-losing company announced that it was selling three of the planes to the federal government—another stranger to financial problems—for \$150 million as replacements for an older fleet of Boeing 700s. Grounded since last fall, the A300s may soon return to the skies.



PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFFREY M. HARRIS

NORTHERN GOTHIC

The strange saga of St. John Franklin is one of the most enduring legends of Canada's North. In May, 1846, he and his crew of 120 set out from England aboard the ill-fated ship *Terror* and Erebus (in Greek mythology, a place of darkness on the road to hell) in search for the Northwest Passage. On June 11, 1847, with his ship stuck in pack ice near King William Island, 600 miles northwest of present-day Newfoundland, Franklin died. The survivors then set off on foot on a hell-journey north to Back Bay over 300 miles of ice. They perished along the way.

The search continues for answers to why they attempted that desperate crossing and where Franklin is buried. In 1984, a University of Alberta research team examined the bodies of three men preserved as permafrost. They concluded that Franklin's men had suffered from lead poisoning, which may have caused mental distress that contributed to their deaths. These studies also provided fodder for supermarket tabloids: the *Weekly World News* reported that a crew member after being thawed out, sat up and spoke—but failed to report what the cause allegedly was. A more reliable fact may soon be shed on the Franklin tragedy.

For Ernest Callachan, 84, a Royal Navy recruiting officer and amateur historian, claims that he has found two earth-covered mounds on the northwestern shore of King William Island—and speculates that one of them may contain Franklin's remains. "I tell you in the presence of old sailors," Callachan said, that the North will not easily divulge its secret, with water approaching, researchers will be able to excavate the site until next summer.

Better safe than sorry

Susan Fidler answers the phone, breathes "Hi," does the legwork. Their service? Cousins delivered to homes anywhere in Winnipeg, between 8 p.m. and 4 a.m., for \$8-10 per pack of 12. The two high-school students started the Gold Rush Confectionery Delivery Service in mid-July with \$2,000 in seed money, including donations from friends and relatives. "Now they don't have an excuse for not getting up late," Susan, 27, said of her customers. "A cousin is always available within a half-hour." That the service, the first of its kind in Canada, is on the verge of going broke? This Fidler 15, says that so far he has filled only 45 orders, mostly from young working couples that he added. "Even if we were to close tomorrow morning, I still feel good. These 45 people could have really needed it."

PASSAGES

ATTACHED: From active companion, synchronized swimmer Sylvie Frichette, 25, who lost a gold medal in the 1982 Summer Olympics because of a knee injury. That left the Montrealer with an unfulfilled dream: to marry her boyfriend, 36-year-old sports broadcaster Sylvain Lefebvre. Frichette said last week that she plans a new career in public relations with the National Bank of Canada.



DEED: Neil Crawford, 61, a major influence for three decades in Alberta's municipal, provincial and federal politics, at his Edmonton home, of asymptomatic lateral sclerosis (Lou Gehrig's disease). Crawford said in a Conservative press release in 1971 with his debilitating illness prevented him from contesting the 1986 provincial election. Former premier Peter Lougheed and that Crawford, whose cabinet portfolios included health and social development, attorney general and municipal affairs, was "the giant that holds things together."

friction as Sept. 4. Boulder, a new release, flew on board the space shuttle Discovery from Jan. 22 to 28. Last week, she said that she plans to continue her space research, especially her work on how people adapt to space flight and respond to the gravity environment of Earth, at a Canadian university yet to be determined.

DIED: American shipowner and real estate magnate David Ludwig, 85, for years one of the world's richest men, of heart failure at his home in Manhattan. His net worth was estimated at \$1.6 billion last year.

DRO: One of the last remaining survivors of the 1962 winter of the Throat, Louis R. Page, 84, in a Milwaukee hospital.

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ANOTHER VIEW



The triumph of the superficial

BY CHARLES GORDON

Some good things come across the border—and thanks very much for it—but it is the bad stuff we have to watch out for, particularly in an election year that politics themselves are in 1992. The politics of superficiality are all over the United States, and we would be crazy to think it isn't happening here.

We don't like to think that. We see American politicians talking about lovely values, while at the same time Canadian politicians talk about the Constitution. The concept of family values as a political issue is meaningless and stupid, while the Constitution as a political issue is not, assuming we give our politicians the benefit of the doubt. It is certainly worth noting that American politicians are indulging with talk-show hosts and debating with rap singers, while our politicians are talking about minority rights, the division of powers and the structure of such national institutions as the Senate.

It is true: our politics have not, yet, slipped to the superficial and gossipy level of those in the United States. We are not consumed with the dating history of our political leaders. There are a lot of things wrong with the way politics are conducted in this country, neither our politicians nor the media covering them stray very far from the serious, but at least we have never, yet, at a Canadian political convention heard slogans about "the '90s again, harder harder" as accompaniment to a leader's speech, as if elections were solely about making the other guy. Then our fringe parties, Reform and the Bloc Québécois, have some substance to them. They are about something, not just a huge shopping cart. Like the Ross Perot movement in the United States.

We have not slipped that far yet. Yet! We're being overcautious. Remember that we have a lot in common with the United States. Our political gossips read the same gossip magazines, watch the same news, and our voters are subject to the same influences as their voters. People exchange like copies

Charles Gordon was interviewed by The Ottawa Citizen.

Our politics have not slipped to the gossipy level of the Americans. We are not consumed with the dating history of our leaders.

up here too. Entertainment Tonight has a Canadian audience. Superficiality crosses borders. It tends to fly.

If the American system is in a dismal shape—and the fault is—at least in part—due to its superficiality, it is only because it only works if the voter—the reader, the voter—reads it. If the voter doesn't demand something more, a superficial politics is created, a politics in which who wins matters more than what the winner does. Leading universities in the United States have been urging politicians to do what they can to win longer terms, at least if the voter doesn't buy it. If the voter/reviewer demands something better, the politicians and the media will be forced to provide it.

Anyone can break this cycle of superficiality—the politicians by having the guts to do what they think is right, the media by providing balanced, personality-oriented reporting, the voters by refusing to change the channel just because an ad has appeared on the screen. There are few signs of any of that happening in the United States right now. As always, we in Canada can be our own neighbor. Agree with it or not, our US federal election was closer than this. And the next one could be too. But we are kidding ourselves if we think the border will keep the politics of superficiality out.

issues, but the street runs both ways. If the media ignore the voters in concentration on personalities, then the politicians will play the personality game and stop wasting the media's time with policies. The media claim that post sexual indecency are important indicators of future competency, but the argument is transparently self-serving. Readers decide reality like no other self-serving argument, but a true one. In the wake of the latest wave of British royal scandal and topless photographs are poll showed that the British people want the press to stop moaning on the Royal Family. At the same time, circulation figures showed that the newspapers during the moaning had won their battles in readership.

The scandal story—Bill Clinton's past affairs and George Bush's too—works well for news organizations too, to deal with issues and ways of people not reading news stories even if they are produced. After the initial hit—a political leader caught in bed with the wrong person—however many years ago—the rest of the story is reaction, the extent story to do and to sustain. One person after another can be shoved in front of the camera to pronounce shock and disapproval, and the private can masquerade as political coverage.

Even covering so-called issues can be reduced to the same level, the Republican convention was discussed not in terms of the ideas presented but in terms of the "brouhaha" in the polls it might have provided. Failure to reach expected bounce levels becomes a story in itself, augmented by reactions to the failure to reach the expected levels. Bush's acceptance speech is analyzed not on its merits, if any, but on whether it was a "home run" speech like speech happening during baseball season in a facility, the Houston Astrodome, in which the ball does not carry exceptionally well. Much is heard and the how can it appear soon in Canadian media. We already have reported the loudest speech, usually employed in so-called analysis of international political debates. So it is not as if the concept were new to us.

The continuation of journalists searching for the easy story and the politician providing it only works if the voter—the reader, the voter—reads it. If the voter doesn't demand something more, a superficial politics is created, a politics in which who wins matters more than what the winner does. Leading universities in the United States have been urging politicians to do what they can to win longer terms, at least if the voter doesn't buy it. If the voter/reviewer demands something better, the politicians and the media will be forced to provide it.

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Mitrović outside the Charlottetown meeting: after months of negotiation, a dramatic new phase in the wily debate

CANADA

RUSH TO PASSAGE

Even when they disagreed strongly during their constitutional negotiations, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and the 10 premiers usually tried to play down their differences in public. But at the first meetings and leaders of the country's territories and aboriginal groups met in Charlottetown last week, they introduced a new variable. They publicly stated that they had reached a formal agreement or a planned national referendum on constitutional reform in late October, even though there was every indication that they were privately in accord. After two days of closed-door talks, Mulroney said he did not confirm that there would be a referendum on late winter's constitutional package, adding that he would make an announcement that week—a delay presumably designed in part to accommodate the needs of Quebec. Premier Robert Bourassa, 30, al-

OTTAWA AND THE PROVINCES MAKE PLANS FOR A NATIONAL VOTE ON REDRAWING THE NATION

lowed Mulroney, "There is considerable support among the provinces and myself for the idea."

In fact, last week's talks marked the close of a long and arduous phase of the constitutional

reform process, and the start of a much shorter and more dramatic one chapter. Even though Mulroney and the other leaders reached a tentative agreement on Aug. 23, the wording and extent of several clauses remained unclear in private, some federal and provincial advisers expressed concerns that the fragile agreement might founder over seemingly arcane disputes about how the courts might interpret some clauses. But those issues were largely resolved in Charlottetown—and as a result, Mulroney advisers acknowledged privately, plans were made for a nonbifurcated referendum. But Bourassa still wanted to discuss the proposal with members of his Quebec Liberal party at a weekend conference. As well, the first ministers had not agreed on the wording of a referendum question, so on several times that they hoped to settle that week.

With that, the country's federal and provin-

cial leaders can swing into action. Federal sources told Maclean's that Mulroney is planning to recall Parliament on Sept. 10 and to reintroduce legislation authorizing an Oct. 26 referendum through the House of Commons and Senate within nine days. The official campaign would last 35 days, following the terms of a private member's bill on referendums that Bourassa passed in June. Assuming that vote in all 10 provinces approved the package, all of the country's legislatures would likely move to ratify the package by the end of the year.

Still, the agreement faces a series of potential pitfalls. The most direct danger is the possibility that voters in one or more provinces could reject the agreement. In theory, most



• **Ontario Premier Bob Rae and New South's David Conway** said he will veto some of their province's seats in the new Senate in votes.

• **Don Allen**, who wrote the Quebec Liberal constitution platform, joined a growing number of Liberals in denouncing the wily package.

• **Alberta Premier Don Getty** said that he would withdraw his support in the deal if it is rejected by a majority of voters in his province.

QUOTE OF THE WEEK

"We're talking about the Fathers of Confederation. Where are the mothers?"

—**Angela Jettis**, professor at women's studies at the University of Prince Edward Island, on the demand for seats in the new Senate

elements of the package need the support of just seven provinces representing at least 50 per cent of the population. But some key clauses require unanimity. And because the proposal is the result of a series of delicate compromises by the provinces, the removal of any one element might be enough to cause other provinces to withdraw their support—perhaps killing the agreement. According to some constitutional experts, the proposal needs unanimous approval because it would require changes to the structure of existing federal institutions. And unanimity is clearly required for Bourassa's key condition that provinces be granted a right to veto any future changes to federal institutions. Those measures made, constitutional experts say that it is

not clear how many other elements of the package require approval by all 10 provinces. Even a unanimous vote in all 10 provinces on the package in all provinces would not guarantee passage of the accord. Under the terms of the 1982 Constitution Act, any measure requiring the support of seven provincial legislatures representing at least 50 per cent of the population must also receive those seven documents within three years of its passage by the first legislature. During that period, provinces that have passed the measure can vote to rescind support—as Premier Clyde Wells's Newfoundland government did in the case of the Meech Lake accord, previously endorsed by the government of his predecessor, Brian Peckford.

The prospect of such a reversal already loomed in Manitoba. Premier Gary Filmon has twice broken the month that deadline to make his Conservative majority—the party has 23 members in the 57-seat chamber. Both erode provinces have strongly criticized the agreement. In Quebec, where Bourassa's Liberals trail the separatist Parti Québécois in opinion polls, there will likely be an election next year.

Proponents of a national referendum say that these political uncertainties are among the most compelling reasons to go ahead with an early vote. Although the referendum would have no legal force, said John Whyte, dean of law at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont., it would be "irrevocably pronounced" because it would reflect the will of the people. Moreover, a campaign waged simultaneously across the country would tend to focus the debate on national rather than regional interests, which are potentially more divisive.

Mulroney itself took these arguments during a meeting last Wednesday with his cabinet. Several ministers from Quebec—led by Health Minister Jean-Paul Bouchard—voiced concerns that Quebecers might see an early referendum as a federally sponsored vote being held in Quebec at the same time as in other provinces. But Mulroney said that there would be better opposition to the rest of the country to making an exception of Quebec—and he reminded Bouchard and other ministers that Bourassa would retain the right to stage a second referendum if he failed. In any event, Bourassa said that he will not ask Quebec's National Assembly to ratify the agreement until all other legislatures have passed it. By doing so, Bourassa hopes to keep the pressure on the rest of Canada while avoiding an embarrassing rejection of the Meech Lake experiment.

By the time the agreement is passed, it will only to discover later that there are other provinces wanted to amend it.

All of the first ministers agree that speed is the key to a successful resolution of the wily debate, and not just because of the danger that some could lose power before the referendum process ends. Even provinces that were allowed to remain in 1990 and disapprove that he convinced an expert service and worked as a state province.

National Notes

SLEEPING THROUGH MURDER

The Supreme Court of Canada upheld the controversial 1986 acquittal of Kenneth Parks, who said that he was sleepwalking when he murdered his mother-in-law in 1987 after driving 33 km down a busy highway to her Scarborough, Ont., home. The court ruled that because Parks had been clinically asleep at the time, he acted involuntarily.

THE POWER TO SHOOT

Federal Justice Minister Kim Campbell said that Ottawa will amend a section of the Criminal Code that gives police officers the right to shoot dangerous individuals suspected of committing a felony. Speaking in the annual meeting of the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police in Victoria, Campbell said that police should only have the power to shoot if a suspect poses a serious threat to the public.

CHARGES OF BIAS

The members of 23 of the 36 seats in the House of Commons at the Watford court case in Stollerville, N.S., accused the public inquiry into the disaster of bias in favor of Westinghouse, and of restricting funding to their supporters. Justice Peter Bouchard of the Nova Scotia Supreme Court, who leads the inquiry—which is scheduled to begin hearings in October—did not comment on the charges of bias. But he said, "I have a responsibility to the public to maintain inquiry costs are controlled."

A CALL TO ARMS

Appearing at a Halifax before the Canadian Bar Association's annual meeting, lawyer Anita Hill urged her colleagues to end and end multiple discrimination and sexual harassment in the workplace. She said that the rise to prominence during the October 1990, congressional accusations hearings for Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas, moving Thomas of sexual harassment. Other women at the association's meeting said that they will not stand with the legal profession. Declared senior Supreme Court of Canada justice Bertha Wilson: "The large law firm is not necessarily broadly to women."

ACCUSED THE POLICE

A report by the Ontario Civilian Commission on Police Services said that the Toronto police force has "seriously mismanaged" investigations of its members. In particular, the report criticized the force's handling of the case of former constable David Simons, who was allowed to remain in 1990 and disapprove that he convinced an expert service and worked as a state province.

relinquish will be hard-fought in at least four provinces: Manitoba, Quebec, Alberta and British Columbia. B.C. Premier Michael Harcourt, who left Ottawa for a four-day vacation immediately after the announcement of the agreement, has come under heavy fire in his province for his political opponents' anti-uniformity and many media commentators. The criticism has focused on two issues: Harcourt's endorsement of the proposal to guarantee Quebec 25 per cent of seats in the House of Commons, and his acceptance of a formula to allocate additional seats in the House of Commons. The new plan would give British Columbia 11.5 per cent of the seats in the Commons, compared with 10.8 per cent now. But it already has 12 per cent of the country's population and is Canada's fastest-growing province. And until late in the negotiations, there was no provision to redistribute seats until after the next census, scheduled for 1996. But the first ministers already agreed that the Commons seats could be reassigned before those census results are in.

Manitoba's Finlay, meanwhile, will have to struggle to retain his caucus this fall on the Manitoba legislature, a task complicated by the fact that he is one of the few leaders to face significant opposition within the legislature to the proposal. By contrast, Liberal and New Democratic Party leaders in Alberta have said that they will support the proposal in spite of some nagging. Outside the legislature, Premier Donald Getty will confront some opposition from the federal Reform party—whose members include many provincial Conservatives. But the most emotional opposition is in



Pro-independence vigil in Quebec City last week; above: Harcourt

Quebec. Bourassa's executive challenge was to preserve his party's unity at the wake of last weekend's convention. Much of the criticism has centred on the notion that if Quebec signs the agreement, it will effectively renounce any hope of gaining more power in future talks. To counter that, he gave a meeting with members of the party's outcast wing last week. Bourassa said that he expects the agreement

as "just one step" in the quest to gain new powers.

That claim is likely to cause widespread skepticism in other parts of the country, where Quebec's appetite for constitutional change is often denounced as insular. However, it is more controversial about opposition at home. At last Saturday's Liberal meeting in Quebec City, among those in support for Bourassa and the package were outspokenly with strong criticism from some members—including Jean Allaire, the former head of the party's constitutional committee, who argued that Quebec did not gain enough in the package. And Marco Damiani, president of the Liberal youth wing, said that he would not support the proposal in a referendum.

One Bourassa adviser said that the premier plans to argue that the reallocation offers Quebecers and other Canadians a closer tie between "taking a few long steps to a great future rapidly—or a great step towards a future apart." With the referendum countdown under way, Canadians will have to come to terms with a variety of questions about the proposal, and their own contradictory emotions.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH is a Charlottetown journalist. BARRY CAMU is a Quebec City and GLEN ALLEN and NANCY WOOD in Ottawa.

THE COSTS OF A NEW SENATE

Although the country's first ministers have agreed to an elected Senate, debating the current upper chamber will be an expensive proposition. Members of upper houses have been dismissed from their posts before Quebec, the last of the provinces to consent to upper chamber, abolished its 24-seat Legislative Council in 1968 and gave its members no pension equal to their newly salaried \$10,000. Some members of the 104-seat federal Senate have also demanded to be treated generously. Independent Senator Ed Lawson, for one, a former Treasurer under Trudeau, has declared that he expects to receive his annual salary of \$24,500 until the year 2004, when he reaches the current mandatory retirement age of 75—a total of more than \$800,000. Others are less insistent—but

still hopeful. Said Liberal Senator Robert Firth, 68: "Maybe people who are closer to retirement will receive a more generous offer than those who have 30 years left. My own feeling is that whatever happens, they will come up with something fair."

Reform officials are already estimating the cost. A study by the Library of Parliament last year concluded that senators are not government "employees" but neither "legislators" and, as such, may not legally be entitled to severance packages if they are forced out of office. But if the government does decide to compensate senators, the study said, one option would be to give them severance packages similar to those offered to private sector executives. In that case, members of the upper chamber could expect lump-sum settlements of between \$85,000 and \$307,000—a payout that could total more than \$14.5 billion.

Although Ottawa until the previous year was to agree on the timing of Senate elections, the first such vote is unlikely to be held soon. For one thing, the new Senate is supposed to be

introduced at the same time as an enlarged House of Commons—which can only be implemented after a detailed revision of riding boundaries by staff at Elections Canada. Already, however, at least 15 senators have expressed their interest in campaigning for a seat. For others, such as an independent, Saint-John's-based Conservative Senator Jack Marshall, who turns 73 on Nov. 26, "I have only got two more years until retirement. If I was 50 years old, I might give you a different story." Another veteran, Nova Scotia Senator John Macdonald, appeared before the mandatory retirement rule took effect in 1963, recently said that he was undecided about whether to run, adding that the election might not occur for five years. "In five years I will be 91," Macdonald, who is now in hospital recovering from a broken knee, told an aide. "We will cross that bridge when we come to it."

NANCY WOOD with GLEN ALLEN in Ottawa

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'BAKE' TAKES THE HELM

For former secretary of state James Baker, it was in the private road between his former New York City law office and his home in the White House that he took his first steps as chief of staff. Baker, 61, in the private road between his former New York City law office and his home in the White House that he took his first steps as chief of staff. Baker, 61, in the private road between his former New York City law office and his home in the White House that he took his first steps as chief of staff.

August when the party leadership tried to enhance its popularity by focusing on family values as a major campaign issue. But after a hard slog in the opinion polls—marked in large part by relentless television coverage—the Republican revival appeared to collapse last week. A series of post-convention polls showed Bush losing the gap of 15 to 25 points separating him from his Democratic rival, Arkansas Gov. William Clinton. But a New York

JAMES BAKER IS CHARTING A NEW COURSE FOR THE RE-ELECTION CAMPAIGN OF GEORGE BUSH

Times/CNN News Poll released last week once again showed Clinton with a commanding 35-point lead—51 to 36 per cent.

Politicians said that it was clear that a recession-weary election to narrow the emphasis on prosperity. To that end, Baker, or "Bake", as Bush calls him, last week sent the President out on the campaign trail to promote a multi-billion-dollar job training program for Americans needing better work skills. The President also paid consulting visits to victims of Hurricane Andrew in Florida and Louisiana, where he pledged that "the federal government will do everything we can to help ease the suffering of the people" (page 18).

In an emotional farewell speech to state department colleagues on Aug. 13, Baker plainly laid out the direction the campaign would take. Praising the 66-year-old Bush for leading the world through tumultuous years, Baker said that the President would now turn his steady and experienced hand to solving America's dire domestic problems. And he hinted at a strongly conservative agenda Bush,

he said, would lower tax rates, cap spending on social programs, relax burdensome regulations and seek trade pacts like the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

Soon after moving from his seventh-floor state department office to chief-of-staff quarters in the White House, the tobacco-chewing Baker, a close personal friend of Bush for three decades who in private calls the President "Buddy", was quick to put his mark on the fledgling operation. In his trademark tobacco-chewing manner, Baker streamlined the White House and campaign staff and brought in trusted state department aides, including spokesman Margaret Twissler, as communications director and Undersecretary of State Robert Zoellick as deputy chief of staff.

As well, he moved to tighten the party's election finances by appointing campaign general chairman Robert Minkler to the Republican National Committee as chief fund raiser. And to sharpen the party's message, Baker took over Bush's speech-writing and issue-generating apparatus. Said Republican pollster Edward Gorton: "The important thing about a campaign is that it is a dictatorship, not a democracy. Now, we have someone to play the role of dictator. It's a Republican political master. Lyn Nofziger put it, 'Bake' is the 800-lb gorilla everyone is afraid of."

But even as the party rejoiced at Baker's return, many of its members said that bringing order to a chaotic campaign would be easier than retooling the President's image. In 1994, Baker bolstered Bush's image and refocused his message against Dukakis. Now, they say, Baker must re-engage Bush to run against a stronger Democratic opponent. However, said John Sears, a Republican analyst and former Ronald Reagan campaign manager: "You can't make a snake bite into a thoroughbred. Baker can make his horse run in a straight line but he can't make him race faster."

Unhappy for the Republicans, politicians say that voters are no longer impressed by the Bush administration's widely touted foreign policy triumphs. Many Americans likely to support a narrow margin on Iraq, where U.S., British and French forces last week began enforcing a so-called no-fly zone in the southern part of the country to protect Iraqi Shiite Muslims from attack by Baghdad's air force. Moreover, winning the Cold War cost Americans jobs and prosperity produced by the arms industry and a huge military machine. Now voters are looking for a government to put the American economy on a post-war footing to compete head-on with the Germans and the Japanese. For the Republicans to win, a family values and anti-taxing are not the winners they will carry Bush back to the White House. James Baker is accustomed to being captain of the ship. But this time he has been given one with a leaky hull—and he still faces more than two months at sea.

HELENE MACKENZIE in Washington

Bush talking with Hurricane Andrew's victims in New Orleans, La.: Bad polls



World Notes

CONTROLLING THE SEXES

America, Britain and French warplanes began enforcing a so-called no-fly zone over southern Iraq to shield Iraqi Shiite Muslims there from air attack. The peacetime aircraft were ordered to shoot down any Iraqi planes, and helicopters spotted south of the 33rd parallel, just as the Allies warned they would do in a similar order protecting Kurds in the north since April 1991. Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein challenged the right of "war criminals" and "Zionist cronies" to limit flights in Iraq.

A NEW PROPOSAL

At Mideast East peace talks in Washington, Israel asked proposals for Palestinian withdrawal to the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres said that his government was prepared to return parts of the Golan Heights to Syria in exchange for a peace treaty with Damascus.

TARGETING SERBIA

Canada and other Western countries condemned Serbian aggression in Bosnia-Herzegovina at an international peace conference in London. External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall said that Canada is prepared to send 1,500 more peacekeepers to Yugoslavia, doubling its present contingent, to help distribute food and medicine. She also pledged \$15 million to the United Nations to help relief efforts, and another \$5 million to the international committee of the Red Cross to help its work with hostages and prisoners of war.

WARMING RELATIONS

Dismantling one of the last Cold War barriers in Asia, China and South Korea established diplomatic relations. South Korean President Roh Tae-woo said that the links with Beijing removed the last external constraint on a peaceful reunification of the Korean peninsula.

RIOIS IN BOSTON

Neo-Nazis, skinheads and other German right-wingers held police in the Baltic port city of Rostock after attacking a hotel for Romanian gypsies. The violence in the economically depressed city underscored the frustration of German East Germans as the united-currency cope with a flood of foreign welfare-seekers.

DRIVEN AND BUILT

Czech and Slovak leaders agreed to sign the 74-year-old republic of Czechoslovakia after they failed to agree on the existence of a single state. The target date of the divorce is Jan. 1.

Andrew's Fury

A hurricane leaves a trail of destruction



The first major storm of the hurricane season boled in from the Atlantic with merciless ferocity early last week, slamming through southern Florida before veering across the Gulf of Mexico and tearing into Louisiana with accompanying tornadoes. By midweek, as it dissipated in a smoldering tropical storm, Hurricane Andrew had earned a spot in the record books as the costliest natural disaster in U.S. history. Its toll: at least 24 dead, 250,000 people homeless, thousands injured and a staggering \$35 billion in property damage. But although its power was greatly diminished, the remnants of the storm continued northward, reaching Ontario and southwestern Quebec, where it dumped record rainfall in some areas, especially around Toronto.

During the storm's nightmarish sweep across the Florida peninsula, winds gusting to 140 m.p.h. destroyed an estimated 85,000 houses, trashed power lines, flattened whole towns and scores of trailer parks and sent hundreds of thousands of people fleeing to heavily organized shelters. In the flood-moored coasts of Louisiana, 1.6 million people fled to higher ground. High winds in the city of Lafayette, west of New Orleans, blew the roof off a hotel crisscrossed with hundreds of snakes. In nearby Laplace, Andrew blew vehicles into the air and wrecked houses.

In Dade County, the area including Miami that was worst hit by the hurricane, local emergency officials criticized FEMA for delays in deliv-

ering federal aid. Illustrations squibbled in thousands of Florida's west without basic services—clean water, electricity at a roof over their heads. Devastated Kate Hale, the director of the county's emergency management office, "Where the hell is the cavalry on this one?" declared President George Bush, who visited southern Florida just after the hurricane passed. "I am not going to participate in the blame game. We are just trying to help people."

By Friday, four days after Andrew struck, 8,000 troops had arrived in Dade County and surrounding areas. Camps played fire in tents, food, water, portable toilets, emergency generators, earth-moving equipment and medical supplies. Among other things, the troops set up mobile kitchens serving the army's ready-to-eat meals. And Bush excoriated a schoolboy's weekend trip to his vacation home in Kennebunkport, Me., to ensure relief efforts from the presidential retreat at Camp David, Md. Although Miami-area officials said that they were heartened by the arrival of the troops, they continued to criticize the government for failing to respond sooner. Sen. Bill "It covers under any circumstances should have taken this long."

It will take months, if not years, to restore the devastated areas. And with almost every fruit tree in southern Florida stripped of its foliage, uprooted or broken, the impact of Hurricane Andrew on an agriculturally rich area could last well into the next century. □



In the wake of a devastating storm (clockwise from far left), Miami residents comfort each other amid the damage; South Miami as seen from the air; National Guardsmen help distribute aid in Florida City; storm damage in Louisiana; nightmarish

THE CRY OF A DYING PEOPLE

Deeds offered little dignity when at last a claimed 18-year-old Puntan Hassan Mohamed in an outdoor garage that had been converted to a feeding center in the southern Somali city of Beledweye, and workers covered the dying girl's wasted chest with a blanket and placed her head in the only available shade from the midday African sun, under the rusted cab of a caraballed truck. But Puntan's withered legs were still visible to the 200 malnourished Somali men, women and children who waited in line just a few meters away, each holding a tin container or plastic bag for the grain ritual of receiving a little of rice and beans. At the gate to the camp, one of 32 in the city, armed guards kept dozens of other desperately hungry people away by beating their back with sticks and the barrels of machine-guns. But Puntan waited past being able to take her place in line. In the dry, dusty, scumlike place, even her hot moist mouth finally closed. Shortly after noon, she died alone, the last of her family. Puntan was the sixth person to lie in the feeding center that day. She was among the countless people who have died in one of the cruellest droughts, and wars ever to affect the Horn of Africa, now one of the most brutal and meanness corners of the world.

Last week, the United Nations began a massive military airlift of food, much of it donated by Canada and the European Community, to Somalia and neighboring Kenya, which, like several other African countries, in one way or another has become the continent's worst drought of the century. But the aid was slow in coming. Not until late August, after Egyptian-born UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali condemned the West for ignoring what he called the world's worst humanitarian disaster, did the international community react in earnest. Still, international relief experts say

VIOLENCE AND FAMINE STALK DROUGHT-RAVAGED SOMALIA AS AID BEGINS TO FLOW

that roughly two million of the country's seven million people face starvation. Now, the toughest task facing aid workers is getting food to the crowded, squalid, rampant-squidger lines threatened by heavily armed bandits.

In Beledweye, once a thriving market center of 30,000 people about 240 km inland from Somalia's Indian Ocean coastline, the settlement has become a city of the dead. Most of the former modern long ago abandoned their homes, victimized first by Somalia's 1991 civil war and then by rising thieves who stripped the city of furniture and other personal possessions. Beledweye now plays host to a succession of thousands of starving Somalis who have fled a countryside bereft of food after three consecutive years of drought, and who await death in its gutted buildings or at tiny makeshift bars of bread and pieces of the Small fires lit from rags or garbage burn for evening warmth, casting an acid-scented haze down dimly lit alleys now thrumming with rats, sheep and market stalls. And through that eerie scene wander boys and young men, dazed by an amphetamine-like drug called *klax*, shudder-

ing weapons with which they wage battles for control of stolen food and aid supplies.

Each dawn reveals the toll of that misery. There are bodies everywhere, from the courtyard at the only functioning hospital to the squalid squatters' camps that have risen up on the outskirts of Beledweye, and along the roads leading into the city where weakened refugees keep the strength to go any further. In another town, Beledweye might be the worst place on earth. But now, it may not even be the worst place in Somalia. From the southern port cities of Kismayu and the capital, Mogadishu, to the farthest city of Harardhin in the north, the long, narrow Somali country on the Horn of Africa suffers from devastation by a twin pestilence of famine and war.

Breathless: Aid workers say that malnutrition is so severe that at least one in four Somali children under the age of five has already died, and many more will die even though foreign aid is finally beginning to enter the country in significant amounts. "We are talking about losing a whole generation," he said. Ronald Therwieser, 37, an American doctor with the



Desperate Somalis wait for food to arrive at a camp in Beledweye, one of the meanest, most brutal corners of the world

International Medical Corps aid organization in Beledweye. "People cannot go without food for as long as these people have without doing permanent damage to their minds and bodies."

That assessment is starkly evident in cities such as Beledweye, where the wretchedness is as widespread that healthy children are simply impossible to find and the hungry move about in an emotionally spent, dazed state. There are no smiles in Beledweye, and no tears for the dead. In a tiny, open-air room in the center of town, 45-year-old Mohammed Isak Miye struggled when asked about the condition of his wife and four children, who lay on the stone floor wearing rags. Three of the children coughed incessantly, and the other was so stricken by dysentery that he could not move.

The family had taken shelter there a month earlier after looters stole the last livestock from their farm. "You can't live without food," said Miye matter-of-factly. "I respect all of us to die." Somalia's suffering has gone on far so long that normal parental behavior has van-

ished. Miye raised the left arm of his eight-year-old son, Mohamed, to reveal a self-inflicted wound from a stray bullet that had grazed the boy under his armpit the day before. But the father made no move to get medical help for his son, lying coughing in the corner of the house.

Pain: But although hunger and gunshots have become a way of life in the Somalia, the rest of the world has been slow to respond to its pain. For one thing, the end of the Cold War has closed the chapters of history that turned the desolate Horn of Africa into a strategic playground for the superpowers. Somalia gained independence from its colonial overlords, Britain and Italy, in 1960. But when Gen. Mohamed Siad Barre seized power in a 1969 coup, he became a willing participant in the East-West competition for influence in the Horn.

First, the Soviet Union supplied his regime with weapons and aid. Then, when Barre went to war in 1977 with Ethiopia, another Moscow client, as part of his attempt to expand westward, the Soviets abandoned him. Barre simply

switched sides to the Americans, who were eager to assume the moral and air bases from which to monitor the Gulf of Aden.

By January, 1991, when Barre was toppled in a coup that plunged Somalia into its current inter-clan battle for control of the country, the Cold War was over and the Horn had lost its geopolitical importance. But the legacy of that era endures: the thousands of guns which poured into the region in the 1970s and 1980s are now used to liquid food convoys or to settle personal scores, sometimes between boys as young as 12.

In the vacuum left by Barre's departure, sometime allies and now rival warlords Mohamed Farrah Aidid and Ali Mahdi Mohamed engaged in a deadly power struggle. Neither has offered a detailed political program, but both say that they want a national reconciliation conference leading to a multiparty national government, followed by elections. Their are irreconcilable differences in tribal blood lines, although both men are Muslims who belong to

'BEYOND BELIEF'

DESPERATE SOMALIS SEEK MORE HELP

In one sense, Toronto restaurant executive Abdulkadir Ibrahima Ali was lucky. When war erupted in his native Somalia 2½ years ago, Ali's father and five brothers were able to flee to neighboring Kenya. But the 42-year-old Ali says that another nightmare began last November when he joined with three other family members to sponsor his relatives' immigration to Canada. The process, he says, is still mired in red tape. Said a clearly frustrated Ali, a Canadian citizen since 1980: "We know that the Kenyan police are now deporting Somalis. Anything could happen to my father." He added, "This is not just a story; it's a nightmare. I think our government is blind to this situation."

Many of the estimated 45,000 Somalis in

Canada have family members living in Kenyan refugee camps, and they echo Ali's complaint. They criticize the government's decision in July to allow up to 25,000 refugees from western Somalia-Banadir to immigrate to Canada, without extending such "fast-track" treatment to Somalia's Interior Minister Bernard Valenier explained that Somalia presented a different scenario because of its lack of infrastructure and, he claimed, some Somalis "just don't want to go." But Osama Ali, executive director of the Somali-Canadian Association, disagrees. "Very clearly there is a double standard here," he said. "In fact, the Somali situation is worse than Bosnia."

The Canadian visa office in Nairobi, staffed by seven officials, deals with immigration mat-

ters for Kenya, Somalia and 13 other African countries. Ottawa immigration spokesman Roger White says that the Nairobi office is dealing with a backlog of 500 Somali cases—300 refugee applicants and 200 more sponsored by family members in Canada. But David Matas, president of the Canadian Council for Refugees, says that "the true backlog there is beyond belief." Added Matas, "There are thousands more, the government just doesn't let them in the door."

Canada, however, is clearly prepared to help on other fronts. Defense officials last week were considering plans to send up to 150 peacekeepers to Somalia. A 10-member armed forces team in Nairobi was preparing for a three-phase airlift of relief supplies to the famine-stricken nation. And Canadian aid for Somalia and outside their country has increased dramatically. Since January, Canada has contributed \$17.8 million in food and humanitarian aid to Somalia, compared to \$9.1 million last year. This year, \$2.3 million has gone to Somali refugees in neighboring countries like Kenya where, according to worried Somalis in Canada and government officials alike, the need is urgent and growing.

GLEN ALLEN in Ottawa

Refugee camp in Liboi, Kenya (opposite); (below, clockwise from left) workers unloading relief supplies in Mogadishu; a doctor treats a wounded infant in a Mogadishu hospital; a feeding center in southern Somalia; "worse than Bosnia"





'Technicals' and their weapons: an air of post-apocalyptic science fiction

Letter from Somalia

A LAND OF TERROR

Beside the seven-people plane, into a steep descent to the scorching desert in Mogadishu, Somalia, our Libyian pilot, Tim, remarked that he was "flying just a single MiG today." Tim, it turned out, was not wrong. For about three days, Mogadishu, he was making just one return flight to Mogadishu from Nairobi, Kenya, with a cargo of medical supplies, relief workers and journalists entering the Somali nightmare. There are some days when the chance to get into Somalia is so great that Tim makes two trips, "a double MiG." Two trips with stopovers in the southern Somali city of Kismayo are "a double MiG with cheese," in the standard pilot's language. As the world becomes more aware of the tragedy unfolding in Somalia, scores of aid workers and others are trying to get into the country at the same time that thousands of Somalis are fleeing war and famine for refugee camps in Kenya. Even more remarkable are some of the doctors, nurses and relief workers who are trying to preserve a glimpse of sanity in the clinically insane country.

One is Matthew Bryden, 34, a British-born political science graduate from McGill who has worked in Somalia for three years and now coordinates logistics for the French humanitarian aid group Doctors Without Borders in Mogadishu. Bryden was working in northern Somalia earlier this year with a team of French doctors who decided to pull out of the country rather than have local armed guards for security. But Bryden arrived to Mogadishu and found a French team that was committed to staying. "Walking away from this country is just not an option," he said. Bryden admits to mixed feelings about Somalia. "Westerners find it difficult to like Somalia because they do not put as much pretense of being grateful to me as we have," he said. "I really admire the toughness of these people."

The attraction of working in a country where humanity is on hold, despite daily life also hard for outsiders to grasp. Traveling anywhere

Among other regular visitors to Somalia now are a half dozen Kenyans who fly tiny Cessna planes crisscrossed with bags of food, and legal, and drug called that into the famine-stricken country. Even before the war in Somalia, Nairobi Airport is swarming with Kenyans and local Somalis involved in the drug trade, which produces a profit of about \$12,000 on each flight. Somalia are huge consumers of khat, but they do not grow the plant. The khat flights are the first planes of the ground each morning, often so grossly overloaded that they become double the normal amount of cargo to get in. For aid workers, Somalia who can afford it are choosing the plant, which requires the same energy levels in a bed that is already much too much on edge.

Skeletal: The strangeness of Somalia is only heightened by the presence of the drug. Street scenes seem to have emerged from a special effects laboratory for post-apocalyptic science fiction. In the southern town of Baidoa, Lash-Rovers over through the streets, they well armed and well-dressed teenage powerhouses in "The Boys." Tens of thousands of skeletal whitey out of the way. Among themselves, the teenagers wield their guns like fists, jabbing each other with the muzzle in the manner of a friendly punch. "I really like my work," and Omar Abdi Farrah, who lives himself out as a translator to Westerners. "But I don't know how long I can go on worrying about the security," he asked. "If you play with a few bangs enough, it will bring you."

But in the end, it is the hunger and the weak that you remember most in Somalia, because there are so many of them. In Baidoa, a city that is now nothing more than a cemetery for the dead and nearly dead, it is impossible to look anywhere without seeing people suffering. The only way to avoid seeing Somalia's sickness and evil is to close your eyes. And that, as Matthew Bryden pointed out, is just not an option.

BRUCE WALLACE

A CONTINENT IN DANGER

A DEADLY DROUGHT GRIPS MUCH OF AFRICA

Under the scorching African sun, hungry subsistence farmers are piling for gold along some of Zimbabwe's drying riversides. Although a drought threatened a grain or two of the previous month, which they can exchange for some cornmeal, for most there are no inches—only raging hunger and imminent starvation. And the work is risky. Recently, last

tributed to urban shortages, as refugee camps in search of food or jobs. On the Horn of Africa in Somalia, Sudan, Ethiopia and northern Kenya, 20 million people are directly affected by both famine and civil war. And in the south, an unusual country below Zaire has escaped the devastation. Even tortuously fertile South Africa and Zimbabwe, which have enjoyed a reputation as the continent's bread-

basket—the response is always too late."

Still, even when relief arrives there are overwhelming problems. In Mozambique, civil war has left rugged and distribution channels disrupted in Somalia and Angola, roads and railways are in ruins from years of post-colonial warfare. And throughout the south, the desperate search for food has strained already overburdened ports and transportation routes.

Even where rain comes, as it did in parts of Angola in January, it does not always alleviate the problem. Flash flooding washed away the already silted crops, along with vast quantities of topsoil, because the hard-baked ground could not absorb the water quickly enough. So many farms animals have died and so many farmers have been economically ruined that experts predict that even when the rains return there will not be enough cattle for plowing and no money for seeds and fertilizer.

Guided Scientists say that they do not know what caused the disaster. Some claim that it is a result of the periodic El Niño effect—changes in global atmospheric circulation taking from unusually warm waters off the west coast of South America. But most researchers have been cautious in reaching Africa's disaster to El Niño alone, pointing out that the current drought is merely a more severe episode of a phenomenon that began grapples parts of the continent through much of the 1980s. Other scientists blame the so-called greenhouse effect—the atmospheric buildup of heat-trapping gases—and they predict warmer, drier weather for much of Africa.

How, or if, those trends continue to cause a drought is unclear. Said Peter D'Alema, a researcher with the Climatology Research Group at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, "The problem is that our computer models of world weather patterns, and those for our region in particular, are just too crude to be able to make those kinds of connections with any certainty. A lot more work has to be done."

In the meantime, the starving people have to rely on foreign relief agencies or, like the desperate prospectors of Zimbabwe, hope that they will somehow cheat death. As he pointed for gold, Matthew Maphisa acknowledged that if he gives up his search now he will certainly be "dead in the morning, even if it rains," he said. "But if so, then it will be a pity from the terrible place I pray God takes pity on or we are finished."

SCOTT STEELE with CHRIS DEANIS in Cape Town and correspondents reports



Zimbabweans harvest the remnants of a failed sugar crop for fodder—hopelessness

plains were crushed to death when the crashed boats of the Zimbabwean River, under which they were working, collapsed. "We know it is dangerous, but we have no choice," said one woman working near the site of the tragedy, who would not give her name. "Sometimes someone is lucky and there is something to eat so we can eat." Added Eryka-Add Mathews Mupfema, "It is terrible. There is barely any water to put properly and it is already much so we have to let it stand before we can drink it. It is like hell and we live like wild animals." Throughout eastern and southern Africa, from Sudan to South Africa, at least 60 million people risk starvation as a result of the worst drought so close to a century.

Record-low rainfall and scorching temperatures have created widespread crop failure. Hundreds of thousands of cattle have died or have been slaughtered because of lack of feed and water. And thousands of subsistence farmers and unemployed agricultural workers have

been an important grain for the first time in centuries. In Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana, Mozambique, Malawi, Zambia, Zambia, Angola and Tanzania, 50 to 90 per cent of the crop, a staple food, has been wiped out. The drought has even destroyed such traditionally healthy crops as millet and sorghum.

According to current estimates, it will cost as much as \$4 billion to feed Africa's hungry this year alone. Although donor countries have responded with unprecedented levels of aid—including \$50 million from Canada—on officials say that the international community has done too little, too late to avert disaster. Some experts say that less than 50 per cent of what is actually needed has been pledged so far, and that the death toll could be as high as 10 million in the Ethiopian and Botswana famines of 1984 and 1985, during which up to one million died. Said Nicolas Bousquet, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees' director for Africa: "If you look at the situation, there is one constant

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Salinas's Mexican Standoff

Mexico's leader is gambling that his people will support free trade

Behind the gleaming, white stucco walls of the presidential palace in downtown Mexico City, a major renovation program is under way. Visitors have to step around beams of workers, construction equipment, exposed wires and beams as they navigate the labyrinthine passageways. The construction work at Las Pumas, headquarters of Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, is in keeping with the spirit of his six-year term in office. Since he took over the presidency in December 1988, Salinas, 43, has launched a nationwide campaign to modernize Mexico's economy, social and political system. That initiative drew its first test on Aug. 12 with the first drafting of a North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) among Canada, the United States and Mexico.

The apparent success of Salinas's initiative drew its reverse dividend of increased, not competitive industry, corrupt politics and abject poverty has earned him international acclaim as well as strong domestic support. When he took office, he set out a clear, if painful, strategy designed to transform Mexico from a pre-Columbian state with a pre-Columbian agricultural system, into a modern, competitive industrial nation.

One of the first controversial steps Harvard-educated Salinas took was to privatize hundreds of state-owned businesses, including the oil refineries, and to open Mexico's long-protected borders to foreign business. Under the Brady Plan, he renegotiated Mexico's foreign debt of more than \$100 billion owed to scores of international commercial banks. Then, working with business and labor, under an agreement known as Mexico as "el Punto," Salinas managed to slash inflation to its current level of about 10 per cent from 124 per cent in 1988. Now, NAFTA, which formalizes Salinas's emphasis on trade-generated economic progress, forms a key part of his overall strategy.

But critics of the Salinas regime note that the benefits of the much touted economic and politi-



Salinas in Las Pumas office spends bucking in pursuit of deals

cal reforms have been slow to affect the lives of Mexico's large, impoverished population. It is estimated that about half of the country's 88 million people live in poverty. Concerns have also been expressed about the lag in political reforms to implement the strides made on the economic front. Although Mexican presidents may only hold office for a single six-year term, the major political party the Institutional Revolutionary Party, has been in power for 62 years without interruption. Government critics also claim that political corruption and a weak democratic tradition could ultimately undermine any economic gain.

Analysts of the Mexican situation, however, point out that Mexico does not share the same democratic tradition and political structure as the rest of North America—and that it is partially meaningless to judge that country by foreign standards. With its semi-feudal past, Mexico has evolved under the strong hand of an authoritarian and interventionist state and a long tradition of political debate and opposition has never fully developed as a result, analysts note.

But international leaders, who deplored of Mexico when it defaulted on its foreign debt in 1982, are perhaps a more decisive indicator of Mexico's improved status on the international financial scene. Under their urging once again, Mexico has returned as a participant in global capital markets, and international events most leaders and lenders are now again looking there as a point of focus.

For his part, Salinas has also displayed a consistent willingness to entertain new deals. Almost immediately following the signature of the NAFTA draft documents, Mexico signed a free trade framework with five other Latin American nations. By year-end, a trade pact with Israel and Colombia is expected to be complete, and very preliminary talks with Argentina have also been broached recently.

Last week, Mexico's Business Editor Director, Guillermo Marmorestein Salinas, was on the edge of Las Pumas. A couplet man, he sat on the edge of his state-like leather armchair, gesturing to emphasize his points, barely containing his apparently abundant energy. And, typical of a leader who assumes that the more changes he makes, the more there is to accomplish, the only note at odds with his conservative grey suit was a black plastic runner's watch. Elacort.

Maclean's: Did the recent North American free trade negotiations have longer to conclude than you had anticipated?



Farmers in Chismene, Mexico: the task of modernizing a paternalistic state with a pre-Columbian farming system

Salinas: Since people kept on asking why it took so long to conclude the negotiations. Others asked why we weren't taking more time to go on with the negotiations. My answer was always the same: the negotiations were going to take as long as it required to get a good agreement. And we derived a great experience from the Canada/US free trade negotiations, and that took three years to conclude.

Maclean's: Was there ever a point at which you doubted that NAFTA would be accomplished?

Salinas: Yes, there were some times when the talks got pretty tough. When we had to draw the line very clearly—what was part of the negotiation and what was not. And those were tense moments at a very intense negotiating process.

Maclean's: Until quite recently, you said that

you preferred to deal with the issue of North American free trade on a sector-by-sector basis rather than through a comprehensive agreement. What did your thinking change and why?

Salinas: At first, we were hesitant to go along with a North American free trade area. But things changed drastically in 1989, the first year of my presidency. When I visited Europe in January, 1990, I found what I call a fascination of Western Europe with changes in Central and Eastern Europe. I knew then that Mexico was facing very tough competition for the scarce capital required to finance

growth and development. And the only way to be better positioned to compete for such capital was to be part of one of the huge trading blocs being created in the world. We happened to be neighbors with one of them. And I decided to reverse my previous position.

Maclean's: With the framework of NAFTA now in place, do you believe that the relatively limited trade between Canada and Mexico will increase?

Salinas: I am convinced that trade between Canada and Mexico will now increase substantially. Our previous experience with free trade between Mexico and Chile showed us that even in a few months, trade could more than double. We haven't targeted specific sectors for increased trade. We prefer to let our business community and our exporters make the decision to promote specific areas of trade.

A MEXICAN SNAPSHOT

	1988	1991
Gross domestic product	\$210 billion	\$334 billion
Population	83 million	86 million
Median age of population	19	19
Unemployment	26 per cent	3 per cent*
Inflation	114 per cent	10 per cent
Literacy	88 per cent	88 per cent
TV sets	127 per 1,000 persons	117 per 1,000 persons
Motor vehicles	66 per 1,000 persons	60 per 1,000 persons

*Measured at the approximately 50 per cent of the population already within the official economy

with Canada. Let the market decide.

Maclean's: Is it reassuring for Mexico to have Canada as a geopolitical counterweight to the threat of NAFTA?

Sullivan: Well, it's very difficult to live close to the most powerful country in the world and we have had a very traumatic historical experience. Every time we have quarreled and divided among ourselves, we have lost part of our territory to our neighbor to the north. That is why we are interested in strengthening our internal unity—something that requires growth and development. Peacefulness, we will strengthen our domestic unity by getting a

closer economic relationship with our neighbor to the north. And at the same time, yes, we believe that a closer relationship with Canada will strategically improve our relations with the United States.

Maclean's: In these concerns in Mexico, as there has been in Canada, about the cultural survival of ethnic minorities, how do the United States?

Sullivan: Mexico has 3,000 years of culture behind it. That gives us a tremendous self-confidence in approaching this relationship with the United States.

Maclean's: Do you understand why the pro-

tectionist lobby against NAFTA in the United States is so pronounced?

Sullivan: I understand that the worst possible time to negotiate a free trade agreement is during an economic recession, because everybody tries to blame their problems on their trade instead of domestic problems. But it seems to me that U.S. supporters of NAFTA are focusing on the wrong side of the problem. Americans are not losing their jobs to low-paid workers, but to workers who get better wages, like those in Germany and Japan. It's a matter of competitiveness. And we in Mexico do not want to get into wars with lower wages. We want higher wages for our workers on a permanent basis.

Maclean's: How do you counter the criticism of those who claim that Mexico is an unequal partner in NAFTA because of its inferior environmental and labor standards?

Sullivan: We are committed to strengthening our environmental and labor standards not because of NAFTA, but so that our children will inherit a better environment, a better country. To those who claim that it's an unequal partnership, I would say that it is not equitable that these economic gains are suddenly falling to the smaller, less developed economy to be on an equal basis and to participate in this NAFTA as an equal footing.

Maclean's: How long do you expect that it will take for the economic benefits of free trade—in terms of real wages and standards of living—to flow through to the average Mexican citizen?

Sullivan: Our analysis indicates that the benefits of NAFTA will be felt mostly by the next generation. But, nevertheless, short-term benefits will flow from the fact that the market will increase along with the opportunities for job creation in Mexico. But I have stated very clearly that the current strategy will only be successful if it simultaneously has a determined social program. So today in Mexico, even without NAFTA, the benefits of economic recovery are already being felt by Mexicans, even the poorest ones, because we have an explicit social program in place.

Maclean's: Is Mexico's infrastructure currently adequate to support an influx of new industry under NAFTA?

Sullivan: We have to invest more in infrastructure. We have to upgrade the quality of our infrastructure—in telecommunications, in agriculture, in urban development. And that's precisely why we want to enter NAFTA, because additional growth will allow us to have more resources to invest more in infrastructure. Unfortunately, this partnership doesn't come with funding from the developed countries to upgrade our infrastructure as happened with Spain and Portugal when they entered the European Community. They got over \$10 billion in funding to upgrade their infrastructure.

Maclean's: Now that you have a draft agreement for North American free trade, what is the next priority on your economic agenda?

Sullivan: We still have some steps ahead in NAFTA, like congressional approval in each

country—that's very important. My task in the months and years ahead is to consolidate the broad promise of reform in Mexican economic reforms, political reforms, environmental reform.

Maclean's: Do you feel a sense of urgency on the terms of your presidency down to its conclusion in 1995?

Sullivan: I would say that the world is in a hurry and we must try to work at the same pace. And as long as the world is in a hurry and as long as Mexicans want answers to their fundamental demands, I will continue working at this pace.

Maclean's: What are Mexico's objectives for free trade with other Latin American countries?

Sullivan: We have already concluded a free trade agreement with Chile, And Colombia and Venezuela and Costa Rica have expressed a commitment to conclude one before the year is over. But I believe it is also clear that it is unusual to join it. The whole of Latin America is going towards free trade and we certainly are glad to be part of that process and to facilitate them in NAFTA.

Maclean's: Do you have any concerns about the effects that such rapid and profound economic change will have on the population of Mexico?

Sullivan: Mexico has been adjusting to economic change for more than 10 years. The 1980s were a decade of stagnation and high inflation in Mexico while the economy went through a very drastic adjustment. But the most important change taking place in Mexico today is the one relating to mentality and attitudes. The way Mexicans look at themselves and themselves in relation to the rest of the world.

Maclean's: Do you think that there is an adequate understanding of Mexican society and history on the part of the people of Canada and the United States?

Sullivan: It's a perennial thing that we live so close and know each other so little. But free trade, I am convinced, will stimulate a closer knowledge of one another.

Maclean's: In these economic model which you have followed?

Sullivan: There are no models—each country has its own traditions, traditions, historical developments. We have applied an economic strategy that has been good for us. And we are willing to share it with anyone who asks for it. But, again, I emphasize there are no models—only within Latin America. Each country has its own circumstances.

Maclean's: What is the president's personal achievement, to date, of your term as president of Mexico?

Sullivan: The light I see in the eyes of many Mexicans. The hope it's not that we have solved all the problems—we have many left. But they have hope. They say that we have gone through many very difficult issues. And today, even though we still have difficulties ahead, Mexicans have self-confidence. Confidence in themselves, in their capacity to overcome their problems. □

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Brian Mulroney as the new Macdonald

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

It took Ticky Markovs of *The Edmonton Star* to point out the obvious. In her column following the conclusion of the recent Ottawa constitutional talks, she identified the negotiator who had carried the day "like it or not," who wrote, "It did seem to me approved by the people of Canada, Brian Mulroney will go down in history as one of our most important prime ministers. That's only fair if he takes the top job for his government's perceived defeat, he should get the applause for its apparent successes. Even if today's Canadians never acknowledge Mulroney's achievement, it's likely their grandchildren will."

Almost alone among Canadian commentators, Markovs gave credit for the agreement that was hammered out to the politician who made it possible. In her column, she expresses how hard it was "Don't think this is easy to say," she writes. "These of Brian Mulroney has become the new great tribes of Canadian politics and possibly brings history down to date and add looks from colleagues."

That reaction was not shared by those who were in the room during the five-day Ottawa negotiations. One politician not afraid to acknowledge Mulroney's negotiating skills is Paul Edmond Lalonde, Mulroney's currently leading premier's confidant. "I don't belong in the same political party as the Prime Minister," he told me, "and I disagree with a lot of the policies of the Conservative government, but I have to compliment him on this role. His leadership on the national unity question has been a godsend. He has handled the negotiations admirably with one primary focus in mind, and that is the unity of Canada. He never got annoyed at people and listened to everyone's concerns, even though there were times he was disagreed."

"He heard him because of him until the last-minute tactics of a union negotiator, right back to Mervyn Lasker," said Giza, "and I kept being warned about his pressure tactics and that all of it would be put in a pressure cooker. None of that happened—at least I

He skillfully played off the premiers' objections against themselves, allowing them to find their own way to his conclusions

didn't sense it. At this most recent session, again, he didn't threaten to muscle anybody, to exert undue pressure, and didn't try to engage any trade-offs by hating. Look, you people need money for this or that from the bank, and if you don't say 'hell, you won't get it.' There was none of that. It was a genuine attempt to arrive at a consensus. And it worked."

Other premiers were equally generous in their praise, but most Canadians feel so much better on the Constitution that they were just glad, at least temporarily, to leave it over with. That understandingly so used should not be allowed to obscure the reality of the political achievement in reaching a constitutional formula that will now lead to a national referendum.

When Mulroney did, according to those who were in the negotiating room with him, was not so much because he was any specific leader in position as in a clever grasp of the flow of the debates. That meant there wasn't any one specific defining moment. But as chairman, he created the atmosphere and provided the leadership that made it possible for the premiers to confront the reality that, at this particular moment in Canadian history, the national interest had to speak for itself. That shift in attitudes among what is, by definition,

a group of mad parties with sharply divided personal attitudes and loyalties, ultimately made agreement possible.

Mulroney's method worked, partly because of Joe Clark's magnificent 14-month effort in creating goodwill for Ottawa among several doubting constituents. He not only persuaded the premiers and aboriginal leaders that the 10 government principles wanted to reach a deal that would reflect their concerns and would be good for everybody, but he went out the participants (including himself) so that the very idea of continuing the negotiations for another, unspecified, term became a threat itself.

Looking back on those crucial days, both at Hershey's Lake and the later meetings in the Pearson Building, there were at least half a dozen times when the negotiations faltered and almost went off the rails. That was where Mulroney's chameleon-like skills came in. Sometimes it was his timely adjustments that saved the day more often, he skillfully played off the participants' objections against themselves, allowing them to find their own way to his conclusions. Amazingly, one of the most constructive voices around the table was that of Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells.

The first real reform took place in 1935, when Canada's cabinet decided it was time to patronize the British North America Act, since we were one of the only independent nations on earth whose Constitution was still lodged in our former mother country. That meant begging Westminster's permission every time we wanted to pass an important law. Over the next 50 years, 11 major initiatives were launched to discover some magic formula that would satisfy French and English Canada. None was ever found in a last-minute attempt to assure his place as history. Pierre Trudeau finally brought the Constitution home in 1981, though he could not win Quebec's agreement.

Brian Mulroney has now succeeded where Pierre Trudeau failed. He is, in fact, the first Canadian prime minister since the John A. Macdonald who insists brought the country together, as he has negotiated a major constitutional rapprochement between French and English Canada.

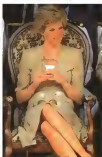
That doesn't mean that all our basic problems have been resolved. It is true, that with a constitutional agreement, we are united as a country. But the most perfect of constitutions will not light our way to the millennium unless we can find a way to backstart the economy. Only through the renewal of the surge of capital investment that has always been the foundation of our economic strength will consumers have the courage to start buying again—and that, in turn, will ease the spring of mass unemployment and our budget deficits.

To think of Macdonald and Mulroney in the same breath is a leap of logic that will baffle and even anger most Canadians. Yet the two men (who also both in contrast the fact that no other Canadian prime minister has ever won two electoral victories in a row) believed with equal fervor in the country they governed—and both moved its prospects significantly forward.

PEOPLE

Rocking royals

He calls her "Squidgy" and declares his love. He calls her "darling" and complains that her husband, exiles her to his "torture," and the British tabloids are calling another royal scandal. The factor erupted when the *Wall Street Journal*, a chronicler of difficulties in the marriage of Diana, Princess of Wales, and Prince



Diana: an alleged 'love chat'

Charles published the transcript of a mobile-phone conversation that it claimed a law-robot operator had taped between Diana and marketing executive James Gibbey Buckingham Palace, already reeling from published photos of a topless Duchess of York, estranged wife of Prince Andrew, declared to comment on the tape's incoherence. But Britain could judge for themselves thousands phone a Sun hotline to hear the recording.

He says, she says

After feuding through the news media for almost two weeks, *Wendy* Allen and actress Miss Farrow set face-to-face for the first time in the latter custody battle over their three children.

The couple met privately with



Allen: ends photos

A call for change

Brendan Fraser says that he "just wish they [Fraser] were." And in the new movie *School* Tim, Fraser stars as a workshop-class Jewish teenager contending racism at a swimming pool school in 1950s New England. The 18-year-old actor, 33, who went to high school at Toronto's Upper Canada College, said that he hopes the film will "help bring about some sort of change, in order to take steps towards beating the problems of society." But he added, "I'm not trying to save the world. Please, I'm just an actor."

Fraser: 'I'm just an actor'

A GOOD TIME TO SLING ZINGERS

In his latest book, *It's a Jungle Out There, Why Do I Have to Move the Lawn?*, Toronto Star columnist Joey Singer pokes fun at nearly everything—from political correctness to troubled English-French relations. And Singer says that despite the constitutional accord between Ottawa and the premiers last month, Anglo-Franco friction will continue to provide fodder for his offbeat wit. "This is a wonderful time to be a humorist," added Singer, 46. "Every time they go into a locked room, they come out with a new idea."

Breaking in

Two years ago, Deborah Wright began straddling pro hockey games in Ottawa and keeping a record of players whose talents impressed her. That you have just got off last month, when the San Jose Sharks hired her to track Quebec hockey talent, she became the NHL's first female scout. Wright, 26, and that the other team's scouts have given her warm reception—although, she added, one of them did tell her that "the only place for women in hockey is in restaurants." Said Wright, "But lately, when I see him he just says 'hello.' I guess he's got over that little misconception."



Wright: 'Irish misconception'

taken by Allen. But while Allen, 36, and Farrow, 47, kept silent in public, his 10-year-old father, Martin Kampberg, entered the fray—and blamed Farrow's mother, actress Maureen O'Sullivan, 61, for the scandal. Kampberg told the *New York Post* that Farrow is "a nice girl," but added, "I think her mother put her up to all of this."



Allen: ends photos

CANADA 1892

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

As part of this year's celebration of Canada's 125th birthday, author and Maclean's columnist Peter C. Newman, with photographer Peter Christopher, have produced a new book that dramatically evokes the national spirit of a century ago: *Canada 1892: Portrait of a Promised Land*. Combined Newman's reconstruction of a bygone age with Christopher's color photographs of historical sites as they now appear. Excerpt

In the history of every country, there comes a pivotal moment when its urban fabric overwrites its rural past. Canada in 1892 was experiencing just such a moment. Until then, the large, lone land had seemed little more than a brooding geographical mass, silent and inaccessible, its sparse population lying reluctant claim to the shorelines of its oceans, the ebb and flow of its rivers and the lays of its mountains.

But by 1892, the embryonic dominion had begun the metamorphosis of painful time of its making. With the recently completed Canadian Pacific Railway tying the country together, its many frontier traditions were beginning to fill up, and the place names on the map started to denote not just felled trees or dug canals, but expanding settlements, alive with the noise and sweat of commerce. Villages were growing into towns, towns into cities, and a half-dozen city-states were emerging across the country.

Modern Canadians visiting the streets of Montreal or Toronto, Quebec City, Ottawa or Victoria in the 1890s would witness a far different world from the one they know now. And yet, accustomed back and there would be familiar landmarks. Architecturally, 1892 and the present it typifies was a significant watershed—some of its best buildings be-

came a part of the Canadian heritage. They included Toronto's Old City Hall, York Club and Queen's Park, the Old Town Frontenac in Quebec City, Windsor Station in Montreal, various buildings in Vancouver's Gastown and Chinatown in Victoria. Such popular period tourism as Richardson, Remondet, and the Old Town set the styles for Canada's public and private buildings for many years to come and helped in the checkerboard of the nation's streets.

As the 1890s transformed Canada's physical appearance, turning the wilderness into an urban and industrialized land, other forces were operating on the recently unified Confederation—trends and events that would see bitter conflict with its borders and draw it into fire war beyond them.

"The Nineties witnessed the sunset of the Victorian era," noted Jane Caldwell in her wonderful history of the period, *The Nineties*. "It was the passing of a time when the role and importance of God, the Queen, the flag, duty, honor, virtue and family life were all clearly defined. It was a period of great contrasts, of charity and brotherhood, compassion and pornography, of crippling poverty and bourgeois wealth, tough bosses and violent labor disputes, an age of escapism and sophistication, of platitudes and dramatic technical advances, of great

thoughts and bores, gold rushes and immigration, puritanical rules and militant workers, sporting houses and Klondike winter-party gals."

Federal-provincial relations in 1892 proved unusually combative, with Quebec and Ontario led up with having to subsidize the poorer provinces ("the shreds and patches of Confederation"). The provinces were united by one emotion: their outrage with Ottawa's entry proclamation. To be sure, the Western provinces were particularly upset about exorbitant freight rates, the Maritime were demanding higher fishing quotas.

Spurred on by the midges of the United Kingdom's Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, federal powers were being drastically decentralized so that most Ottawa initiatives seemed thwarted. Economic times were tough, with Canada suffering to share of a worldwide recession. Industries that had been built up under the high-tariff National Policy (which had kept out most competing American goods) found they could not compete and resented to layoffs and consolidations. The only solution, many leaders in both major parties whispered, was "unrestricted reciprocity" (this trade

in *Lights of a City Street* (1894). *Portrait of a Promised Land*: Bold-Smith depicted the intersection of Toronto's King and Yonge streets. The artist portrayed himself, being a newspaper. (Below) emblems of provinces and territories in 1892

with the United States. Always strained, English-French relations were reaching a new low. "Between English and French Canada lay a gulf of more profound enmity than any that the newspapers of politics," concluded John Sargent in his study of the 1890s. "Dignity was vindicated, finding outlets in the traditional French-English and Catholic-Protestant conflicts, in hostility to any suggestion in the land, and in sharp rivalries among Protestant sects. The time of the Nineties was rough and discordant."

Reflecting that mood, former Quebec premier Pierre Charbonneau had observed, "English and French, we climb by a double flight of stairs towards the



destinies reserved for us on this continent, without knowing each other, without seeing each other, and without even seeing each other except on the landing of politics."

That "landing of politics" was forever altered in the summer of 1891 by the death of the great experiment, the Father of Confederation, Sir John A. Macdonald. Luke were magnificent, indestructible light-house in a field of poor chimneys, Macdonald was not only Canada's founding prime minister, but the standard role model for each of his less-worthy successors. With an unerring instinct for his political enemies' puppets and an uncanny ability to take on whatever ideological

colonialist each situation demanded, he dominated Canada's post-Confederation scene far more than a quarter of a century. In the process, he turned opportunities and patronage into something close to Canada's state religion, and yet it was his games to turn this witch's brew into a significant factor of state-building.

Macdonald's impressive achievement of forging a Conservative party out of such warring ideas forces on English-Canada's fledgling business establishment and Quebec's Catholic hierarchy attested to the reach of his skill. Within Ontario, they support came largely from manufacturers lapped with the harsh tariffs of Sir John's National Policy. Even though the majority of those industrialists were raging Protestants, they happily joined with the Pope's representatives in French Canada to sit under the umbrella of Macdonald's mildly progressive conservatism, united by their opposition to the forces of liberal socialism that by 1892 were beginning to sweep the country.

Perhaps his attraction as a politician was partly based on the fact that he seemed as vulnerable as the new and still-wobbly dominion itself—barely able to stand on his own feet after repeated bouts with his favorite brand of

the doctor rose, yet somehow surviving with spirit undimmed. His greatest strength was just being there, witnessing survival—his own and his country's.

In the last decade of his life, Macdonald spent his increasingly infrequent after hours cycling, hiking and enjoying the vistas to follow his window path to glory. He may have viewed the new world he was creating through bloodshot eyes, but he greeted Canada's western clunk of civility with the hawk's-eye wisdom of a man with a million miles on his motor.

By the time the 1881 election rolled around, Macdonald, then in his 77th year, had spent half a century in the tangle of uncertainty of a political process in crisis that those who actually believed in his free rules of ethical conduct were inclined to be either stumped or astounded. Macdonald himself had much to offer congressmen to keep his country and his party together that he could no longer be sure where he himself stood on any issue.

As he prepared to face the voters one last time, the country had never seemed so troubled and so divided. New Britain had begun to talk secession and in fact had formally voted to leave Confederation. There was dissatisfaction everywhere about everything, so that less than 25 years after Canada's birth, the Dominion's future appeared less secure than ever.

In the face of such high political risks, and while battling his own deteriorating health, Macdonald at the start of the 1881 election looked not so much old as dead, kept going only by increasingly frequent doses of booze, the strange topography of his face resembling nothing so much as the weather side of an ancient mountain gully.

There really was no issue other than Macdonald himself, although the Tories were not above attacking Wilfrid Laurier's Liberals as traitors for loyally working in concert to the United States (while themselves secretly trying to negotiate a new level of reciprocity with Washington). When he asked Governor General Lord Stanley to dissolve Parliament and call an election for March 5, Macdonald passed a public letter that laid out his position. "As for myself, my course is clear. A British subject I was born—a British subject I will die. With my utmost effort, with my last breath, I will oppose the would-be traitor which attempts by sordid means and mercenary profits to lure our people from their allegiance." That statement was widely interpreted precisely for what it was meant to be: not an insertion of imperial appeal, but a declaration of Canadian patriotism. It worked.

The Canadian Manufacturers Association swung in behind the old man. Sir William Van Horne, president of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, assured Macdonald that "the C.M.A. will be ardently anxious"—a surprising given that the CPM had been described as the "Tory Government on Wheels." Macdonald wrapped himself in the Union Jack and charged the Liberals with treason for trying "to make Canada the Arctic fringe on the American mainland." Although he was not seeking widespread personal campaigning, whenever he did, his presence caused a sensation. As he stepped forward at his last Toronto rally, the audience reacted with an emotional high that could only be described as an expression of love.

Canadian responded appropriately on election night, granting Macdonald a 27-seat margin—a larger share of the popular vote than he had received in 1867. But the campaign broke what was left of his health. Three months later, on June 6, 1891, he was dead.

Rose and with the passing of each prime minister, but this was something different. Regardless of party loyal-



East wing of Ontario legislature, completed in 1892. (Below) Montreal City Hall. A century ago, the square was a traditional French open market, but the column-enclosed British market here Lord Nelson.

ty, Canadians mourned Sir John's death as if a Sunday slaughter had been re-enacted from their very frames. Of the many observers, none was more moving than that of Macdonald's political opponent, Laurier. "The place of Sir John A. Macdonald in this country was so large and so absorbing," the Liberal leader told the Commons, "that it is almost impossible to conceive that the picture of this country—the life of this country—will continue without him."

As Canadians faced the first year in memory without the Old Chief in power, they wondered what 1892 would bring them. It would be a significant troubled year for both Canada and the world. In Britain, the Liberals under William Gladstone won a slim electoral victory, while Karl Marx became the first Labour member of Parliament. Bennett Shillings published Mrs. Norton's *Professors and Rascals* railing against Sir Rowland Boscawen Bellairs in the United States, Bennett Grove Cleveland was the presidency, opposing the McKinley Tariff, which would have hurt Canada. Newspaper began publishing in New York City, and Pittsburgh was the most violent strike in American labor history as child-wielding Protestants men belted strikers at Andrew Carnegie's Homestead works. Russia suffered famine and France went to war against King Boko in Africa. In sports, "Gentleman Jim" Corbett defeated John L. Sullivan for the heavyweight championship, while in technology, the



The Berrand (later the Berrand) Block in Vancouver, built in 1896, was one of the city's first modern buildings. For many years, it housed the Albermarle Hotel, one of Vancouver's few hotels that charged more than \$1 a night.

dial engine and the automatic telephone switchboard were perfected.

In Canada that year, Quebec Premier Honoré Mercier was acquitted on corruption charges, and poet Pauline Johnson began her public readings. In a still-to-be-familiar pattern, two Canadians ways on their way to achieving world renown—in the United States, James Naughton would enter basketball while working at the YMCA in Springfield, Mass., and actress Maudie Dinkley (Lena Keorber of *Coyote*, Oct.) made her first appearance on Broadway. Local, silver and zinc deposits were discovered at Kimberley, B.C., and work was underway on the making of the world's largest chess (13 tons) in Perth, Ont.

The country's 1892 gross national product was about \$460 million, and Canadians had pocketed \$55 million in savings accounts. But the original post-Confederation dream, which had envisioned a prosperous nation stretching from sea to sea, had yet to come true. The strenuous would continue to batter industry in Central Canada and East Canada even more. Fewer than a quarter of a million seamen had chosen to settle on the western plains. The great west of wilderness that would use 1.5 million hectares leaving Canada's prairies was still a desolate area.

The automobile, motor power and radio, the three inventions most responsible for

changing social behavior early in this century, had yet to be introduced, but life was becoming decidedly easier. Canadians were rapidly getting used to typewriters, central heating, indoor toilets, bathed were the deep tracks of the cow, Linotype machines, kerosene, half-tone newspaper photos, steam-powered thrashers and, above all, electric lights, streetcars and telephones.

The early phones were tested with a certain degree of suspicion. Phone subscribers felt sure that somehow the talking machines were conveying false information, and for many years after they were introduced, Canadians used telephones mainly to make appointments to visit their friends in person. By 1892, almost every major Canadian city had electrified streets—had many sidewalks were still wired of electricity.

Canadians, then in tow, were ranked by an ability to endure—in survive a harsh climate and worse politicians. That still has always been a Canadian burden. Confronting too much on survival, however, often detours imagination and creativity—those creative leaps that allow individuals and countries to reach for greatness. Yet survivors are the winners in any game, and it is because Canada's survival is threatened in 1992, as it was in 1892, that the mood and details of what happened in that distant year are significant.

An Canadian head into an uncertain decade, memories of previous times past take on a very special glow, keeping pride alive in our country and ourselves. But folk memories do not repre-





duce themselves; they must be preserved and maintained.

Amusements such as the current celebration of Canada's 150th birthday help cement the past in a lightly seductive way, we decide what to remember and choose what to forget. That allows alternatives for the present and fictiona practices for the future.

Writing about 150th is no profane act; rather, it is a time as close to us as our grandparents or great-grandparents. This, after all, is a country only four centuries old, and history is nothing more, and nothing less, than those moments refined—the record of collective and individual experiences between character and circumstance. If we can so listen, we can still hear the faint echoes of the people who walked our streets, worked our farms and fished our waters a hundred years ago.

The parallels between 1900 and 1992 are haunting. Facing the dawn of a new century, as we do, Canadians a hundred years ago desperately longed to believe the next century would belong to them.

In 1900, that seemed like an attainable dream. The country was like some young giant stirred by an adolescent's feelings of power, not yet dulled by the failures, misgivings and temptations of full adulthood. Yet reality crept into the dream, too. The extremes of wealth and poverty, economic hardship, the unending hostility between English and French, Protestants and Catholics, federal-provincial feuds—these and other trends were threatening to tear the nation apart. "We have come to the history of this young country when premature dissolution seems at hand," lamented Levesque, the soon-to-be prime minister, sounding much like any 1990s-vintage politician. "How long can the fabric last? Can it last at all?"

Northed could the Rocky Mountains, the Banff Springs Hotel fastidiously Canadian Pacific Railway president Sir William Van Horne's vision of a tourist destination in what he called the 'Canadian Alps.' The present complex replaced the 1880 original in 1926.

All these questions which surge in the mind, and to which dismal answers only suggest themselves."

We are still what we were: there is loose federation of already diverse regions that sometimes feel as if they are on the very margin of their shared world. But in opportunity difficult country to govern—too big to contain, hard internally, yet too small to yield any economic or political influence that matters.

A full century after the events described and depicted in this book, Canada remains "a prison land." There are still only seven people per square mile occupying our landscape (compared with 913 in Holland or 68 in the United States), and only half per cent of our territory has been fully settled. More than three-quarters of our 26 million population is hived into a Châteaufort strip along the southern border of the United States. Of this country's 155 cities, 162 are within 200 miles of the American boundary.

But even if most of us no longer venture any further north than our summer cottages, our souls are still branded by the cold. Our best historian, W. L. Morton, has pointed out that "because of our origins, Canada life to this day is marked by a northern quality. The line that delineates frontier from the domestic, the wilderness from the civilized, the hinterland from the metropolis, runs through every Canadian psyche."

Our unusual geography, combined with our rigorous climate, has often meant that the nation's collective mood and individual conduct are governed more by the rhythms of the changing seasons than by anything the politicians or economists might be achieving.

It is our strength that most Canadians are attached to their country not by imperious trumpet calls, but by small, private experiences. Yet there is nothing so—dare we say—so glib as a giver of common interest meaning that no matter how agonizing it may feel, shared Canadian is worth the candle. Read as we may try to devalue the Canadian experience ("The world needs Canada because if it weren't there," Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chrétien once said, "the Chinese could still right across and invade the world") our products are branded by the simple fact.

It is a feeling this to the cry of acceptance of N.B. Roach, the Welsh poet who founded McMaster University's library at Hamilton. "Wales says in my mind like a bell in an underactive belly," he declared, "I am of Wales and everything I say and dream is framed in that context." It is an important country like Canada, which went from being the colony of one empire to becoming the satellite of another—hardly daring to claim independence in between—it is essential to illuminate our history not as it might have been, but as it really was. Facing an uncertain future, the value of looking at the past becomes essential—not only if we learn from it.

In surprising ways, Canada has hardly changed in the past century. Most concerning Canadians in 1992 are still with it, and our hope must lie in the fact that however threatening these problems might have been they did not start us. We are still here to argue—and implement—their solutions. □



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CANADIAN MAGAZINE INFORMATION

CRIME

Death in a classroom

A lone gunman terrorizes a university

A 7.65-mm bullet pierced Thelma Zupka's abdomen and made her unconscious, but alive, surviving two major arteries and destroying a kidney. Four bullets struck Matthew Douglas in the head, face and hand. Michael Bogien was cut down by three shots, first at short range into his head, throat and back. Aaron Jean Soler was hit twice, once in the head and once in the side. A single bullet lodged in Elizabeth Howwood's thigh. All five victims were employees of Montreal's Concordia University, and all had the misfortune on Aug. 24 to encounter a

Mao Lajane, who subsequently took his own life, left a suicide note in which he accused himself of raising his life. But if vengeance was behind the Concordia killings, it appeared to be of a different kind.

According to university officials, Fabrikant, who moved to Canada from the Soviet Union in 1979, had been employed for nearly two years in a letter, increasingly hostile feud with Concordia's administrators and his own colleagues in the university's engineering and computer science department. An acknowledged authority on mechanical elasticity, a branch of mechanics



Fabrikant (center): an emigrant from the old Soviet Union faces charges

gunman who went on a shooting rampage last week at the university's downtown campus. "The gunman appears to have been searching for vengeance," said Pierre Sagalio, director of the Montreal police department's major crimes unit. "And it looks as if most of his targets were differently selected." Police charged Valery Fabrikant, a 52-year-old Soviet-trained associate professor of engineering with impressive credentials and a long history of abrasive behavior, with murdering Douglas and Bogien, and with the attempted murder of Soler, who died the next day.

The violent episode was eerily reminiscent of a Dec. 6, 1968, rampage in which a man shot and killed 14 women in the University of Montreal's Ecole polytechnique. That gunman,

obsessed with the behavior of materials when subjected to stress, he accused Concordia administrators of having sinister motives for denying him tenure and charged associates with financial corruption and academic plagiarism. A university spokesman said that Fabrikant launched numerous legal actions, made widespread accusations and accusations about his colleagues and with rambling, often abusive diatribes directed against his colleagues and others. According to the spokesman, Fabrikant also indicated some intentions at the university and made veiled threats. "Everybody knew the guy had serious psychological problems, but I guess few of us wanted to believe that it could ever spill over into this kind of tragedy," said a Concordia

colleague, who spoke on condition of anonymity. The deadly shootings erupted on the north floor of the Henry F. Hall Building in the heart of Montreal's business district. Zupka, 48, chairman of Concordia's electrical and computer engineering department, was in serious condition at Montreal General Hospital late last week after undergoing five hours of abdominal surgery. Douglas, a 30-year-old civil engineering professor, died at the scene, along with Bogien, 32, an associate professor of chemistry and biochemistry. Soler, 46, an associate professor of mechanical engineering, died in hospital following the assault. Elizabeth Howwood, the secretary of Montreal's San Domenico, chairman of the mechanical engineering department, escaped relatively unscathed. The 36-year-old woman was released from hospital a day after having her thigh wound treated.

Arrested by police at Concordia, Fabrikant was taken to hospital later in the day after complaining of chest pain. Fabrikant had been teaching at Concordia since 1980, shortly after arriving in Canada from what was then the Soviet Union. Born in 1940 in Minsk, now the capital of independent Belarus, Fabrikant graduated from the Power Engineering Institute of Moscow with a PhD in applied mathematics and engineering mechanics in 1966. He is married to Nina Tylzer, a fellow Soviet emigrant. The couple have two children, aged 8 and 10. Fabrikant had been preparing for tenure for several years, and wanted Concordia to count the time he spent working as a researcher at the university as part of his teaching period for tenure. But the spokesman said that the university had refused to agree to this.

During a brief appearance in Quebec Court to face a raft of charges, including charges of murder, Fabrikant complained of his treatment by the police. "They took away my shirt just as I would look ridiculous," he told Judge Michel Gauthier-Lacaille in impeccable English. "And they took away my glasses so I see nothing." He also indicated that "unless I can find a lawyer that shares the ideology of the delirium, I will have to represent myself."

The shootings raised a number of troubling issues Concordia officials, who said that they had warned the police about Fabrikant's potential for violence, were under pressure to explain why nothing was done to curb his activities. And Quebec police faced a host of questions arising from the fact that Fabrikant had in his possession three legally registered handguns—a .38-caliber revolver and two semi-automatic pistols, 6.35 mm and 7.65 mm. In 1990 the Street de Quebec, the provincial police force, granted Fabrikant a permit to possess the weapons. Although the Street reported subsequent applications by Fabrikant for other permits, his wife, who is a member of a gun club, obtained permits for the two semi-automatic pistols following the University of Montreal killings. Ottawa indicated a proposed gun-control law to require tougher screening for people applying for permits. Those measures are due to come into effect next January—just in time for the faculties of the Concordia victims.

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The end of the road

After 10 years, *The Journal* dies

After a first week on the air 10 years ago, *The Journal*, CBC's first flagship current-affairs show, quickly became a national institution. Interviews by the show's incisive host, Barbara Pearson (who died on March 26), and *The Journal*'s in-depth documentaries became the daily viewing staple of almost 1.2 million Canadians. But last week, in a surprise two-page media release, CBC management announced a major shakeup that effectively killed the program. In its place, on Oct. 26, the CBC plans to launch its hour-long but as yet unspecified program based on its occasionally abbreviated version of *The National* news. What happens to *The Journal*'s staff, and the hard-hitting current-affairs format that made it so successful, is still up in the air. But Tom Kitchell, CBC vice-president of news, current affairs and *Nightworld*, the all-news channel, told *Maclean's* that it is time to leave *The Journal* behind. "With the passing of Barbara," he said, "we have to move on with something else. It's time now to take the next step."

The decision to kill *The Journal* was the latest tremor to rock the CBC since early May, when CBC president Gerald Villeneuve launched a radical transformation of the CBC's fall lineup. As part of that shakedown, he announced that *The National* and *The Journal* would air at 9 p.m.

instead of their traditional 10 p.m. slot. Villeneuve said that the dramatic move would help the CBC stand out among the growing number of alternative television channels. In June, Villeneuve drew outrage in Kitchell to speculate changes at the network. At that time, Kitchell was CTV's vice-president of news, finance and information. Barely recovered from the aftermath of those changes, many veteran CBC journalists expressed surprise at last week's announcement. Said Mary Lee Foley, who co-anchored the early broadcasts of *The Journal* and who is now host of *Sunday Morning on CBC Radio*: "I am surprised, because *The Journal* was such a successful show. It was the kind of show that other people emulate."

Although Kitchell said that the decision to renege *The Journal* was part of the CBC's long-term restructuring, a number of editorial staff members say that *The Journal* actually fell victim to a power struggle over editorial philosophies inside the CBC. Foley acknowledged that there has been a long debate in the corporation over the relationship between the current-affairs division, which produces such shows as the CBC's *60 Minutes*, and the news division, which produces *The National*. While *The Journal* and *The National* have co-operated on projects in the past, these crews have also competed against one another, leading to a perception that re-

sources were being wasted. In the end, *The Journal* lost. Said one *Journal* producer who asked not to be identified: "It was highly political. Everyone has been there was a tremendous struggle over *The Journal*."

It could add be weeks before even journalists at the CBC knew what kind of show will replace *The Journal*. In fact, Kitchell said that a final outline for the new show is only now being developed. He said that *Journal* Executive Producer Mark Sturges and John Owen, the CBC's chief of foreign bureaus, have both drafted proposals for the new show. "These proposals are brilliant," said Kitchell. "It's a matter of hammering it out now."

Although Kitchell was not specific, he did say that Peter Mansbridge, the current anchor of *The National*, will head the new show and instead of running *The National* for 22 minutes before switching to *The Journal*, he said that the new show would be one continuous broadcast with the news and current themes running into the remainder of the broadcast. He added that on some nights, *The National* might be only 10 minutes long, and the remainder of the show would take off from there. "There will be a newcast at the top," said Kitchell. "But I would call it a program, rather than the news and *The Journal*."

The decision to kill *The Journal* also involves CBC *Nightworld*. Kitchell said that *Nightworld* will have lost up resources and, to ensure that it does, Tony Berman, chief news editor of *The National*, will now be managing director of *Nightworld*. Part of his mandate, said Kitchell, is to ensure that *Nightworld* has access to all of *The National*'s news resources. Said Kitchell: "*Nightworld* is moving to its next stage of development. It will be more vigorous and aggressive." Added Berman: "The goal here is to make sure we are providing the best-quality coverage at all the programs."

In the wake of the sudden moves last week, there were also rumors that *The National* might eventually be moved to *Nightworld*. Although Kitchell said that such a switch could indeed occur, he added that *Nightworld*, which broadcasts late in the night and has enough subscribers to support such a move.

And despite being involved in designing the new show, Sturges, who created *The Journal* and CBC Radio's *At It Happens*, will not be involved in its ultimate weekly production. Instead, Kitchell said that Sturges will concentrate on making documentary productions for the CBC. And as CBC staff member told *Maclean's* that at Sturges left his elevator at the CBC last week, he appeared grim and said that he was off to *Reverses*. The comment apparently referred to a documentary about that country last year—and the fact that he had lost the battle to save *The Journal*. Canadians will have to wait until Oct. 26 to find out if his struggle was worth it.

TOM PENNELL

BOOKS

Canada's witch-hunt

The 1950s red scare wounded many Canadians

THE UN-CANADIANS

By Len Scher

(Leser, 271 pages, \$16.95)

In 1967, 66-year-old Morris Scher, a Canadian immigrant and veteran of the Polish and British armies during the Second World War, arrived at Montreal's Dorval Airport to make a long-awaited trip to Israel. But because he had to change aircraft in New York City, Morris Scher went no farther. American customs officials said that he was

a summer camp founder by Communists, the family was denied Canada citizenship until 1963—12 years after their arrival. The Schers and Hill kept files on them for at least a decade.

Now, with the Soviet Union in ruins and the photographs of Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin almost universally discarded, it is nearly impossible to appreciate the passion, fear and loathing that communists evoked in North America in the 1950s. But Scher's book does that remarkably well, by letting everyday people tell how their lives were altered by socio-



Scher: the government approved the compilation of often inaccurate blacklists

polit for entry to the United States. The means Scher investigated had told U.S. authorities about the Schers and that Scher had had more than a decade earlier with Canada's Communist party. Scher's son, Len, who was with his father at the airport, recalls that his "face turned ashen and his hands shook when he was told he could not board the flight." One year later, Morris Scher died of cancer, without ever seeing his beloved Israel.

That incident was the motivation for Len Scher's *The Un-Canadians*, in which 66 Canadians affected by the anti-Communist fever of the 1950s told their stories. Scher, a former CBC journalist who now runs a Toronto production company, grew up in an environment colored by his father's struggles against a suspicious Canadian government. The author writes that because his father occasionally read a Yiddish-language paper sympathetic to communists, and several times sent his children to

times brief detentions with a political deal.

These accounts are often well-written and, at times, starkly naïve. Ben Shooker, a former member of the Communist party's youth wing, says his involvement helped him to develop organizational skills, and that a number of party leaders "went into business and did extremely well because of the training they got. Others were anti-Canadian. Most took a lifetime executive of the Communist party, declares "In some ways, Canada was worse than the United States during the Cold War." In fact, there is nothing in the book to read the infamous witch-hunts led by U.S. Senator Joseph McCarthy, who almost single-handedly spread scores of baseless charges of disloyalty against those made under a sliver of evidence.

Still, there is a disturbing evidence that at various levels, Canadian government leaders approved the compilation of loosely drawn and often inaccurate blacklists. The worst cases



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BOOKS

that *Seven* takes place in Quebec, where Prime Minister Duplessis's infamous *Lois 97* (the provincial government) to shut down protests it said were being used to spread Communist ideals. Both the provincial and Montreal police established "Red Squads" who raided homes and offices in search of what they termed "revolutionary material." They sometimes used violence against women and children. At other times, their target was casual Montreal lawyer Albert Marcov. Marcov recalls that in the Red Squad's haste to confiscate anything colored red, and as a result pressured Communist, they seized copies of *Seven* magazine.

In the past of Canada, the culprits were often agencies of the federal government. The OIC and the National Film Board both limited or sometimes ended the careers of employees believed to be Communists. The RCMP functioned as a virtual adjunct of the Minister post where an American agent had a permanent desk at RCMP headquarters in Ottawa to monitor investigations of suspected Canadian Communists.

There were other offenders outside government. In its haste to suppress American interests, the Toronto *Sunday Star* fired six American after U.S. officials had released them travel visas. One, Steven Starryk, recounts that he never had any known contacts with Communist groups. He presumes that his alleged contact concerned when, in a journal, he "performed for a lot of ethnic and religious groups and for any organization where music was supposedly appreciated."

Among others who were harassed were teachers, union organizers and labor leaders. Toronto writer Ben Z. Rieck recalls that he was fired from his first job as a teacher in 1948, apparently because of reports that he had opposed the Hungarian uprising of 1956 against the Communists. In fact, said Rieck, "I was nowhere near Hungary in 1956." As recently as 1984, he still had problems entering the United States.

Of social Communist supporters, few ever regret about any of their actions—except the fact that in the 1960s, being an avowed Communist meant adherence to a Moscow-led movement that advocated and sometimes underestimated the overthrow of governments around the world. Records show that the secret police paid tens of millions of dollars to worldwide Communist groups—excluding Canada's.

But the book illustrates the harm caused because the RCMP and other government bodies could not distinguish between active Communists and mere admirers, including Scher's father, who were once like accidental tourists than like travelers. Compared with similar actions at the United States, Canada has little reason to be ashamed. But as some of Scher's wounded associates state eloquently clear, the fact that Canada conducted a lander, gentler which least than its neighbor is willing to be proud of.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH



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JUSTICE

The right to lie

The Supreme Court acquits Ernst Zundel

After nine years, two trials, four appeals and millions of dollars in legal costs, there are still no clear winners in the latterly convoluted case of Toronto publisher Ernst Zundel. Ruling on an appeal by Zundel, the Supreme Court of Canada last week struck down his 1968 conviction for knowingly spreading false news about the Holocaust. In a 4-3 decision, the court found that section 318 of the Criminal Code, which

prohibits the spreading of false news, is unconstitutional because it is a violation of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The court's decision was a landmark one. It is the first time the Supreme Court has struck down a law passed by Parliament. It also means that Zundel's conviction is null and void. He is free to go. He has already left Canada.

It remained unclear last week whether the



Zundel and supporters charging that accounts of the Holocaust were a Jewish hoax

prohibits the spreading of false news, is unconstitutional because it is a violation of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The court's decision was a landmark one. It is the first time the Supreme Court has struck down a law passed by Parliament. It also means that Zundel's conviction is null and void. He is free to go. He has already left Canada.

Writing the court's majority decision, Madam Justice Bertha Wilson noted that, in

Germany-born Zundel, who came to Canada in 1958, would face new charges. The Supreme Court judgment noted that another section of the Criminal Code, prohibiting the promotion of hatred against an identifiable group, could combat hate propaganda more fairly and effectively. In 1968, Holocaust survivor Selma Gross asked then-Ministry General Roy McMurtry to charge Zundel under the hate law. When he refused, apparently because he was not convinced that his department could win, she had a private complaint under the false news section. (The hate law section does not provide for private charges.) The attorney general then decided to let the prosecution proceed. For his part, Douglas

Christie, the Victoria-based lawyer who argued Zundel's appeal before the Supreme Court, said that further proceedings against Zundel would amount to "an abuse of process."

Zundel had been convicted twice under the false-news law. The first time was in Toronto in 1968, when he was sentenced to 15 months in jail for publishing a pamphlet which claimed that the Holocaust was a myth perpetrated by an international Jewish conspiracy. The Ontario Court of Appeal overturned that conviction, but ordered a new trial on the grounds that the judge had made mistakes. Convicted again in May, 1968, and sentenced to nine months in jail, Zundel went free on \$100,000 bail while appealing his case to the Ontario Court of Appeal.

Last week, Christie said that he hoped to see him in Canada arguing before the Supreme Court on behalf of another detainee who claims that he is a Jew. Zundel's lawyer, Stephen Kinsinger, a former school teacher and co-author of a book, *The Holocaust: A Jewish Hoax*, a small Jewish community in central Alberta. In 1946, Kinsinger, who taught students that the Holocaust was a Jewish hoax, was convicted in that town, under the Criminal Code's prohibition of promoting hatred against an identifiable group. The Alberta Court of Appeal overturned the conviction, but it was overturned by the Supreme Court, which held that the section was a justifiable limitation on Canadian right to free speech. The Alberta Court of Appeal then ordered a new trial, partly on the ground that the press publicity had prejudged Kinsinger's first trial. In July, the Alberta Court of Queen's Bench again convicted Kinsinger of the same offence. Now Christie is waiting to see if the Supreme Court will hear another appeal, on grounds that Christie said may make correct directions to the jury in the trial judge, and the constitutionality of section 318.

Ultimately, Ottawa may have to enact new legislation to control the dissemination of some kinds of hate literature. In Toronto, Kinsinger said that officials of his ministry will meet with their federal counterparts "to discuss drafting a Charter-proof version of the Code" to deal with cases like Zundel's. Added Kinsinger: "We don't yet know if that is possible." For his part, Alan Berman, Toronto-based general counsel for the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, said that he agreed with the Supreme Court's decision because the law posed a threat to legitimate forms of free speech. But he said that no one should interpret the court's decision as "reaching the equivalent of a declaration of 'no lie law' in the end." The court's ruling pointed to lawmakers' unresolved dilemma how to guarantee freedom of expression while protecting groups of citizens from the slurs of their opponents.

PATRICIA GIBBS



SPORTS

Willing and able

Athletes with disabilities compete in Barcelona

Systemic Blook can test the traffic-waiting pain on September 1, but he cannot see even a glimmer of the late-manner man to his ruck along the edge of the road, past rusty manured lawns on the outskirts of St. Thomas, in southwestern Ontario. Running beside and slightly behind the 41-year-old boudoir, matching each step in perfect rhythm, is Wilson's coach, a 30-year-old black man, a former basketball player, a 12-inch-cube, wearing a pair of his last hard training seasons before the Paralympic Games begin this week in Barcelona. There, Brooks, with Wilson in his grade, will race the 5,000 in and, his specialty, the marathon—the same grueling course that measured many of the title-bested runners at the 1992 Paralympics. Brooks, 37, is a former, though a quick pace, a strength race, and a speed race," says Wilson after their run. "The person

who will endure mentally and physically in order to walk away with the gold medal."

The primary event for these athletes with physical disabilities is the Paralympic Games, which have been dramatically since the first Games in Rome in 1960, where 400 athletes represented 23 countries. In Barcelona, an estimated 3,100 competitors—those with cerebral palsy, the blind and visually impaired, paraplegics, quadriplegics, amputees and others—draw 98 countries will march or wheel into Marjaleix Olympic Stadium for the opening ceremonies on Sept. 3. They will compete, according to functional abilities, in 25 sports over 10 days.

In most cases, the games feature the same competitions, and the same venues, as the Olympics, although some sports, like wheelchair basketball and tandem cycling, where a blind cyclist pedals with a sighted athlete, are modified. As more people with disabilities enter the

its Paralympic competitors to amputees. Already, some performances have come remarkably close to those at able-bodied events. In 1981, Arnold Bailey of Thompson, Min., whose right leg was amputated above the knee after a disabled farming accident, set a world high-jump record in his class at 2.04 m—out (or off) the 2.04 m able-bodied record.

Still, says Paralympic sports reporter *Frankie* with compassion to able-bodied athletes and with the lack of media coverage for their events: Ken Read, a former Olympic skier and a vice-president of the Canadian Olympic Association, notes that a top male athlete can run the 100-m sprint faster than a woman. "But we really are comparing apples to oranges," he says, "and we should have as much appreciation for apples as oranges." The same applies to athletes with disabilities, he says. And both the Paralympics and Olympic Games offer role models: "They are people striving for excellence," says Read. "In both cases, these are the best people who have risen to the top."

Brooks, a silver medalist at the marathon at the 1990 world championships for athletes with disabilities, is one of Canada's top competitors in the 143-member team, which includes such stars as Paralympic swimmer David Brooks. They include Jeanne Brown of St. Catharines, Ont., who has earned parity, a gold-medal swimmer in short, shot and javelin at the last Paralympics in Seoul in 1988. Most champions come from the United States, but Canada without track and field, and wheelchair racing. Chantal Peticola of St-Mary-de-Sures, Que. The team gets \$200,000 from the federal government to go to Barcelona, about half the cost of the 1992 Olympic team. The athletes themselves. They will be sending to at least as well as Canada did last year, when it finished fourth among 62 nations in the Paralympics. The team is led by Patrick Yoon, director of operations for the Canadian Paralympic team, who is part in advances in wheelchair and prosthetic technology in North America in Canada, also adds that disabled people can be athletes.

Bracks, a native of St. Thomas, was born with only partial sight due to congenital cataracts. He saw well enough to guide blind runners at track meets at what was then the Ontario School for the Blind in Brantford, Ont., where he spent Grades 1 through 12. But in 1970, he began to suffer from glaucoma, and within six months, he lost his sight completely. "There's a big difference between partial sight and no sight," he says. "I used to be able to at night and think, 'What I do with my life'."

At first, Brooks was afraid even to leave the white bungalow on St. Thomas that he shares with his mother. But "I took a white cane and walked halfway down the driveway," he says. "I knew I was nowhere near the road, yet it seemed like the vehicles were coming right at me. I ran back to the house." Brooks persevered. "I'd force myself to stand in the driveway and listen to the vehicles. I'd get a little bit closer to the sidewalk, a little bit closer, and eventually I'd stand on the sidewalk and walk."

low, where he studied economics, said, "over the years, I've had the confidence to trust again. I picked it up in the student newspaper as a graduate, who took his running occasions there, when he returned to St. Thomas in 1988. He came to coaching and later became a coach with a Grade 8 teacher and assistant coach, and then he came to St. Thomas with coach 43. "Dillon told athletes what he thought. He was exceptionally lucky to find people to come out every day and adhere to a training regimen just as an able-bodied person. Brooks, who receives a professional disability pension of \$700 a month, runs at least an hour a day. "I have a lot of people who come to the place well in the 3,000-foot race, most of his training has been gained by the marathon. "Ideally," says Brooks, "I'd like to run myself into the ground so hard that I need someone to hold me up when I get home." —Lynne de la Cruz

Unlike Brooks, Bourne does not take physical education at high schools. With cerebral study causing much concentration on the right side of her body, she says she did not think she could do very well. But the 20-year-old placement has made up for lost time. She joined an athletics club 11 years ago, and has been training ever since. Bourne is a 100-meter world half-silver in shot put, javelin and discus in the C7 class—athletes with cerebral palsy are classified from C5, the most severely disabled, to C8, the least.

Kneeling two to three hours, six days a week. This includes weights—bench-pressing up to 370 lb.—and throwing practice along with fellow athletes Richard Grassano, 27, who also has cerebral palsy. Bourne says that she is among the best in her class, at what will likely be her last competition, but that she will remain involved in sports after graduation, at

Adaptation aside, many athletes must learn to adapt athletic skills to their own abilities. Jessica Mace was born without ankles and feet. But her parents took her swimming when she was three years old, and, six years later, when she joined the Manta Swim Club in Winnipeg, her first coach helped her develop a smooth stroke. Within a year, she began competing at meets for swimmers with disabilities. The 20-year-old University of Manitoba commerce student now holds world records in six events.



class—on a scale from 1, the most disabled, to 10, the least—on the 50-m, 100-m, and 400-m freestyle, the 100-m turned into 200-m and added medley and in two relays. She will also compete in the 8 lanes for the 100-m breaststroke. Most of Macri's competitors have one leg amputated below the knee or one arm below the elbow, but will be able to dive off at least one good leg. Macri starts from a track runner's single crouch. "It's not the greatest disadvantage in the world," she says with a laugh. "I just don't get the same kind of distance. So when we all surface, everybody's just a little bit

stead of me." But Mace usually powers ahead, especially in the longer distances—and her best shot is Barcelona, she says, isn't the 400-m freestyle and the 200-m medley. "There," she says, "my strength and my confidence are more important than my size."

For 22-year-old Chantal Pettitree, swimming was just an introduction to athletics. Nine years ago, she was making a firm new life for herself in St-Marc-des-Carrières, a small town of Quebec City, where a team doctor told her she suffered a spinal-cord injury that left her paralyzed below the abdomen. Pettitree took up swimming to keep in shape. But when, at age 17, she moved to Quebec City to attend school and found that there was no pool near her new home, she went to a gym to lift weights. There, she met the coach of the city's wheelchair basketball team. Over the next four years, she took up the sport and, within a year, she began winning Canadian medals.

Partridge, who moved to Edmonton last year to study history at the University of Alberta, went on to capture silver medals in the 800- and 1,000-meter races at the world championships for athletes with disabilities. She also placed second in the 800 m at the 1996 Commonwealth Games and third in the same event at the 1995 world track-and-field championships. Partridge is a side-saddle rider where the wheelchair race was a demonstration event.

Then, at the U.S. track-and-field trials in New Orleans last June, she followed a wheelchair-bound competitor in the demonstration event at the Summer Olympics, and she placed fifth—and one of the contenders. Competing at the Olympics "is very important as a symbol of integration," says Partridge. "I want to be seen as disabled."

MART SEWELTON

A war for the future

Ken Kesey writes of love among the ruins

SALER SONG

By Ken Kesey
(Penguin, \$33.95, 327 pp.)

Ken Kesey has had a long break between novels—32 years. After two successes while he was in his 20s, *One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest* (1962) and *Sometimes a Great Notion* (1964), Kesey went on to become America's steamiest wild man, founding the so-called Merry Pranksters club and touring the United States in a

love come to pass—global warming, ozone depletion, mutations and mass extinctions resulting from humanity's overuse of pesticides. In the nightmare world of the early 21st century, Alaska is the last pristine wilderness, a backwater mecca for those seeking refuge from the horrors to the south. "From Alaska there's no place left to go," writes Kesey. "The north! Men! No game, sorry. The planet Saturn is the ball we were grubbed—it's the ball we have to play. So it came down to Alaska, the Final Frontier as far as this rock old ballgame goes."



Kesey: a mythic stature on the counterculture scene

swamped school bus. When journalist Tom Wolfe made that can-can-titled trip the subject of *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* in 1968, Kesey achieved mythic status as the American literary and counterculture icon. Now, after three decades during which he has tried his hand at screenplays, essays, short stories and children's literature, the Oregon-based author, 56, has finally written that third novel—and it is full of wonders. With *Saler Song*, Kesey proves that despite the long hiatus, he is still in full control of the narrative form.

Saler Song is a raucous, expansive drama of love, corruption, independence and community responsibility, played out against the backdrop of a world falling apart. Kesey begins with a stark hypothesis: in 30 years, all of the current environmental doomsday scenarios

have come to pass—global warming, ozone depletion, mutations and mass extinctions resulting from humanity's overuse of pesticides. In the nightmare world of the early 21st century, Alaska is the last pristine wilderness, a backwater mecca for those seeking refuge from the horrors to the south. "From Alaska there's no place left to go," writes Kesey. "The north! Men! No game, sorry. The planet Saturn is the ball we were grubbed—it's the ball we have to play. So it came down to Alaska, the Final Frontier as far as this rock old ballgame goes."

Kesey's outpost is fictional Katsik, a remote, tiny fishing village where a ragtag collection of eccentrics and recluses struggles to maintain a tenuous existence. The town's fading catch is fish. Salas, "the Greedy god guy with the Riva Freedy eyes," as one character describes him, a middle-aged eccentric-turned-fisherman, Salas is a modern version of the frontier hero. Disillusioned with the environmental fight and by the inability of humanity to make real change, he has retreated to Katsik to find peace and solitude. He finds neither. His boat, a third inheritance, saved Katsik, goes missing at sea. A fight between howling-olympic marmots? Omar Loop and his daughter Louisa's ex-husband's penis? And while Salas is busy dealing with everyday crap problems, a magnificent wolf sails onto the harbor, carrying a lighted Hollywood film canister full of an alien discovery named Nicholas Leverson, who plans to make a multi-million-dollar movie with Katsik as the setting—and who promises that everyone at town will get very, very rich.

The film crew's arrival throws the formerly simple, if offbeat, life of Katsik into chaos ("Look out she," Kesey writes, "were ovine the '70s"). Leverson makes Katsik very into a futuristic Hollywood set—"Stripped and cleaned and simplified, then blown up big as a house, so the actual hills of the thing resembled a, belated it, so the pressure that had once been stifling and just out of reach, this

what's heaven for? had been devolved." The town divides into two camps: the majority who, seduced by Leverson's promise of wealth, agree to sell their identity to capitalism; and a small group, led by a reluctant Salas, who wants Katsik to remain the way it is. A war for the future of the community begins.

Stripped of its content, the novel's plot reads like a recipe for high bore, and it does pose well-earned questions at the novel's end. And developers and the fables of small towns north or here. But *Saler Song* transcends the overly humorous Kesey's patient development of a world about to self-destruct in a fascinating. And he successfully weaves a morning and nature love story into this complicated tale. Kesey's satirical, often grotesque, descriptions of life on and by the sea are realistic and vigorous. And behind the frequently hilarious incidents in the novel is an artfully crafted sense of impending doom. Kesey stores the central confrontation into a timely, humane exchange for the relationship between contemporary Western society and the planet it appears to be destroying. Among the explorers, the scientists and the preservers of Kesey's Katsik, there are no winners or losers, only someone with looking for shelter from the inevitable doom.

Kesey presents a vision of humanity that is lonely and farguing. A satirical collection whipped up with care, *Saler Song* is evidence of a prodigious talent that has been absent for far too long.

JOE CHODURA

Maclean's

BEST SELLER LIST

FICTION

- 1 *Shoreline Power*, England
- 2 *Requiem on Trail*, Blomquist (7)
- 3 *Goodly's Silence*, King (7)
- 4 *The Wholeness Love*, Sussing
- 5 *Murphy's Luck*, Sussing
- 6 *The Pileup*, Sussing
- 7 *Seller Song*, Kesey (6)
- 8 *Requiem on Trail*, Blomquist (4)
- 9 *For the Sake of Love*, George (4)
- 10 *Passing the Secret of Joy*, Walker (2)

NONFICTION

- 1 *Worth Without Risk for Canadians*, Green (3)
- 2 *Deppes, Wheeler and Wheeler (8)*
- 3 *Diets: Her True Story*, Morin (1)
- 4 *Stolen Connections*, Pugh
- 5 *Travels*, McLaughlin
- 6 *The Culture of Capitalism*, Galloway (6)
- 7 *The Lords of the Rings*, Strain and Jennings (5)
- 8 *Revelation from Within*, Strain (7)
- 9 *The Silent Presence*, Smith (3)
- 10 *Pepper Report*, Pugh (6)

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Men in suits demand a deadly price

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

On Saturday afternoon, Aug. 8, when John Kordic checked into a steady hotel in Quebec City, his hands were so bruised and swollen he couldn't grip the pen to sign the register. The room clerk, who knew him from another movie, signed the name for him. Several hours later he was dead, at 37, the victim of the rumors of the "professionals' sport" in which he practiced his trade.

A week later, in a small European town, Ben Jonsson, after flopping at the Olympics, finished well back in the pack on the 100-meter dash, ignored by the sportswriters, written off by his competitors, now secretly even mentioned in the sports pages as a victim of the rumors of the "professionals' sport" in which he practiced his trade.

There is a similarity between John Kordic and Ben Jonsson. It is more than the fact the former died of a combination of steroids, cocaine, heroin and the combined efforts of nine policemen to tie him down in his bed in rage. And the latter, having lost an estimated \$20 million in endorsements after his Olympic Games disqualification in Seoul, quite obviously cannot run as fast of steroids as when he was on them and is now 30 and ignored by the country he once represented.

The similarity is that they were both used by those who run the "sports" in which they excelled—with different gifts. Both young, both undereducated, from unimpeachable backgrounds. Both used, both abused, both exploited by those who could gain from them.

In Kordic's case, it was the cynical and greedy businessmen who ran the clubs that form the National Football League and here came who can hardly stand to hear up as players oppose. In the trade, they are known as "indicators." In reality, they are gamblers. John Kordic was a gun.

In drifting through four NFL clubs, used only as a gun, Kordic regularly shot steroids into himself in the presence of other players and, say some of the players, coaches who turned and looked away. He wanted to be bigger so as to be a better gun. "I have to also be fast



them up," he explained to his fiancée, "I'm able to get my chance."

The NFL has a supposedly strict rule about drug use. It has no policy on steroids. After Kordic wrecked the Quebec City motel room and, trained like a baby, was carried off in the ambulance where he died, police removed from the room 40 unused syringes along with a box of vials labeled as anabolic steroids.

Ben Jonsson was a determined, unscrupulous peewee from Jonsson whose potential was recognized by coach Charlie Francis, who left, as he continued before the Dublin inquiry, that the way to world success led through steroids. He was Dr. Frankenstein. Ben Jonsson would be his Monster.

It worked—a world and Olympic record, until the two of them were caught. To think they were the only keepers of the secret as all of Canada is to learn. At the top of the heap—holding away as if not to leave his steroids

coaches—were the Ottawa businessmen administering Sport Canada.

Ben Jonsson was an employee of Sport Canada, paid with taxpayers' money every month on the scale of the better he did the more money he got. Did he ever overtake the remarkable expansion of his shoulders? His amazing ability to bench-press heavier and heavier loads?

Of course not. The "secret" heads of the "professionals' sport"—wasting to reward sportsmen with gold medals—looked away as Jonsson became an anabolic drug addict.

Kordic remarkably achieved a Stanley Cup ring with the Montreal Canadiens, a team once known as the Pingu Penguins, i.e. producing skidooer muscle. Jean Perron, then the Montreal coach and now a Quebec radio/talkshow host, recalled: "He beat the shit out of everybody. He was the best fighter in the league. Nobody could take John Kordic."

Perhaps in jail, the Canadiens in 1988 traded Kordic to the Toronto Maple Leafs for Ross Courtney in an unapologetic deal. Courtney being possibly the first out of the game. Toronto it seems—once captured by the clearest player in the league, Syl Apps, former British Kicker. Games paid north champions, later on an Ontario Tory cabinet minister—needed a gun.

What does a no-win/lose/hold in 100 as do when he's young and grey? Does Sport Canada give a pension to those who once allowed a gut-bellied clutch of evil servants to just around the world to international track meets where these great athletes were the opponents? Of course not. Their jobs are safe. One is reminded of boxing, where world champions like Ben Jonsson are discovered, decades later, showing signs of George and the mighty Joe Louis called up and slightly added "pension" at a Las Vegas casino.

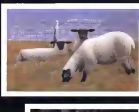
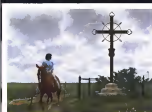
Last week, in Florida, the grandly named "governance" of the NFL, in annual combat struggled enormously over a proposed rate change to outlaw fighting. In other words, to obviate the need for the John Kordics of the sport. Of course it was voted down to leave it to the police referee to spot only the "outcasts" of the brutal that highlight the evening news and provide the evening example for any future Kordic to imitate as the way to the rest.

The "professionals' sport" of hockey, track, John Kordic and taught him that his fists, his bulk, used by steroids, were what kept him in a level that his skills would never keep him. The "professionals' sport" of track taught Ben Jonsson that the way to world riches was to stuff his body with chemicals. Both took two young men and used them up—then pushed them



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